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**Impact of Culture on Employment Relations Practice in
Former British Colonies: A Comparative Case Study of
Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and Cadbury Worldwide**

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Impact of Culture on Employment Relations Practice in Former British Colonies: A Comparative Case Study of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and Cadbury Worldwide

ABSTRACT

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Keywords: Comparative employment relations systems, Post-colonial Africa, Case Study Method, Former British colonies, Multinational companies, Nigeria, and Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc.

The Paternalistic employment relations practice was in existence in most areas now known as Nigeria before the advent of the British colonialists (Ubeku, 1993). The British colonialists replaced the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system with their Voluntarist employment relations system. This was done without any considerations for the differences in the socio-cultural realities of Britain and Nigeria and the differences in the socio-cultural realities of the various ethnic groups that were merged to become Nigeria. This thesis however demonstrates the importance of socio-cultural factors in the transfer.

The Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations practice was based on the predominantly agricultural economy, culture and traditions which formed the basis for systems of work and reward while the British Voluntarist employment relations practice was developed based on the prevailing social, political and economic philosophy at the period of industrial revolution of the 18th and early 19th centuries in Britain. This was that of *laissez-faire*, with respect for individual liberty based on the Benthamite utilitarian principle (Yesufu, 1982:31; Florence, 1957:184).

As there are very few studies (if any) on comparative employment relations practice between the developed countries of the world and the developing African countries; this study relying on secondary sources of data collection and the case study methodology identified a close relationship between culture and employment relations practice in particular and management practices in general. The study concludes that it is very problematic if not impossible to device a template of employment relations practice and other management practices in one cultural area and transfer to another cultural area or areas.

Dedication

This piece of work is dedicated to the almighty God, His Son –the Lord Jesus Christ- and the Holy Spirit; it is also a testimony to the goodness and the greatness of God.

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James Olusoji George

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Introduction to thesis

Impact of Culture on Employment Relations Practice in Former British Colonies: A Comparative Case Study of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and Cadbury Worldwide

Great Britain was the first country in the world to be industrialised, since the late 18th and early 19th century; this brought about major changes in agriculture, manufacturing and mining, and it also had a profound effect on the socioeconomic and cultural situation of the country (Clapham, 1926). There was a major transition from manual labour and draft animal based economy to machine based manufacturing; this spread to other European countries, North America and other parts of the world including Nigeria, through colonialism (Ashton 1948; Ekundare, 1973; Williams, 1976).

Prior to the arrival of the British, foreign trade was undertaken in the territory now known as Nigeria through North Africa, with the use of camels through the caravan trade routes which were developed across the Sahara desert between West and North Africa and this remained the only way to and from West Africa for about two thousand years (Bovill, 1968). Trading was namely in essential necessities of life, such as salt, gold, leather goods and dyed clothes (McPhee, 1926: 28).

The British Voluntarist employment relations practice was transferred to Nigeria and most of the former British colonies without any thought in regards to the differences in the socio-cultural, economic and political circumstances between these colonies and Britain as well as the differences in the socio-cultural realities between the various ethnic groups that were merged together to become one country, now known as Nigeria (Ubeku, 1993; Yesufu, 1980). The employment relations practice in existence

in Nigeria and most of the former British colonies were replaced with the British Voluntarist employment relations practices while the multinational enterprises acted as the agents for these replacements; in the case of Nigeria the multinational company was the Royal Niger Company (RNC) (Ukpabi, 1987).

Multinational enterprises (MNE) in most cases adopt the management practices prevalent in the parent companies (Ferner and Quintanilla, 1998); these practices had evolved over a long period of time and were influenced by the interplay of the social, cultural, economic and political factors in their home countries (Edwards, 2001). Institutions like Trade Unions, Employers' Associations and the processes of collective bargaining have been developed over a long period of time in the UK to make for the smooth running of the Voluntarist employment relations practices (Flanders, 1974).

According to Edwards *et al.* (2004:1) one major role of MNE's as employers 'is their ability to diffuse practices across borders', this process will eventually change the national employment/industrial relations practice(ERP). This was true in the case of the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations practice (ERP) which was replaced with the British Voluntarist employment relations practice (ERP) with Royal Niger Company as the agent of diffusion/transfer (Yesufu, 1982).

Research themes: The three main research themes are as follows: (1) the legacy of imperialism on management practices (including political democracy) in general and employment/industrial relations practice in particular in Nigeria and the former British colonies. (2) The dislocation caused by the transfer of the British system of

employment relations (in part) to Nigeria and the impact of this upon the subsequent development of employment relations practices. (3) The impact of industrialisation on political democracy and economic democracy (all legacies of colonialism) upon the demand for participation and employment relations outcomes, using Cadbury Worldwide, Cadbury (UK) Plc and Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc as the case study .

Research idea: There existed many studies as regards the relationship between cultural values and economic behaviour starting from Weber's (1905) *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* to Wiener's (1981) *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980*. Even in recent times, scholars have demonstrated a lot of interests on the role of national culture on the development of contemporary management practices (John, 2006; Hofstede, 1980, 1991, 2001; Chatman and Jehn, 1994; Gerhart, 2008; Gerhart and Fang, 2005). The theoretical/conceptual framework of this research will be grounded on Hofstede's (1980, 2001) model; following the traditions of Kirkman *et al.* (2006); Lim *et al.*, (2004); Brett and Okumura (1998) and Ang *et al.*, (2003).

This is understandable because the trend now is towards globalisation and internationalisation of enterprises (Fraser and Oppenheim, 1997). Frost (2000:370) states that '---. There has been a vast increase in the volume of capital crossing international boundaries, while rapid improvements in communications technology are changing the nature of the relationship between organisations and the nation-state'. This study is therefore a contribution to the role of national culture on the transfer management practices (political democracy inclusive) in general and employment relations in particular.

Research aims and objectives: This research will strive to: (1). Trace the history of the transfer of the British Voluntarist ERP to Nigeria (2). It will look into the challenges, failures and successes of the transfer (3). The research will look at the impact of culture on the transfer of the British Voluntarist ERP to the former British colonies in general and Nigeria in particular. This is mainly because according to Hofstede and Hofstede (2005:2-3) while trying to define culture, used the analogy of the way computers are programmed and ended up defining culture as the ‘software of the mind’; they (2005:2) further suggested that ‘---. Every person carries within him- or herself patterns of thinking, feelings, and potential acting that were learned throughout their lifetime;’ this learning was ‘acquired in early childhood, because at that time a person is most susceptible to learning and assimilating’.

Hofstede (2001:1) invariably defines culture as the ‘collective programming of the mind’. These patterns of thinking, feeling and acting or Hofstede (2005:3) ‘mental programs (software of the mind)’ are usually well established within a person’s mind that these patterns must be unlearned ‘before being able to learn something different, and unlearning is more difficult than learning for the first time’ (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005:3). It is therefore expected that the transfer of the British Voluntarist ERP and the British Parliamentary democratic practices to Nigeria will force both the Nigerians and even the British to ‘unlearn’ the patterns of ‘thinking, feeling and acting’ they have learned since childhood and to start to learn new patterns ‘of thinking, feeling, and acting’; these processes according to Hofstede (2005:3) are ‘more difficult than learning for the first time’. In a nut shell the mental de-programming and the mental re-programming processes are very difficult. This translates to the fact that the British ERP must have been designed with the culture or

Hofstede's (2005:3) 'software of the mind(s)' of the British in mind; these management practices (the British Voluntarist ERP and the Nigerian Paternalistic ERP) cannot therefore be easily transferred to another cultural area(s) with people with different 'software of the mind(s). Hofstede (1980b) had to conclude after a rigorous empirical study that the validity of management and management practices theories are constrained by socio-cultural boundaries; this is to say that a management theory developed in one country might not be applicable in another country mainly because of differences in culture. Hofstede (1980b) discovered that the commonly accepted US theories including those by Maslow (1970), McGregor (1960) and McClelland (1961) might not be applicable outside the USA. Culture is therefore very important during and after the transfer of the British ERP.

In this thesis it will be argued that the transfer of the British Voluntarist employment relations system (and other management practices) without due considerations for the differences in culture will be problematic and will eventually fail. This thesis therefore evaluates the process of the introduction of the British Voluntarist employment relations system to Nigeria, the difficulties, the challenges, the failures the successes as well as the benefits. The attempt to study these contradictions brought about the '**Key research questions**' which are as follows:

- Do socio-cultural factors play any significant role in the transfer of the British employment relations system to the former colonies? (**KRQ 1**)
- Do British Multinational Companies (MNCs) pay particular attention to differences in the socio-cultural, economic and political realities of Britain and the host countries while transferring the British employment relations system

to the host countries – mostly former British colonies- in which they operate?

(KRQ2)

The practice of this newly introduced employment relations system became problematic shortly after the British colonialists left by granting political independence on 1 October 1960 to Nigeria. Nigerians were therefore left to manage the crisis brought about by the imported employment relations practices as well as other management practices like the political democracy. This led to the constitutional provisions of the concept of the ‘Federal Character’ – employment based on state of origin rather than on merit- as contained in Section 14(3) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution and this was what informed the ‘**Sub research questions**’ also stated thus:

- How does colonialism influence the replacement of employment relations system in Nigeria? And are the problems underpinning the replacement of employment relations system in Nigeria related to the legacy of colonialism?

(SRQ3)

- What is the impact of ‘Federal Character’ on the employment relations policies and practices in Nigerian multinational companies? **(SRQ4).**

The research questions stated above especially the Key Research Questions (**KRQ’s 1&2**) were derived from the research themes, research idea and the reserach objectives and grounded on the works of Edwards *et al.* (2004); Ferner and Quintanilla, (1998); Hofstede (1980, 2001); Edwards and Kuruvilla (2005); Edwards, and Ferner (2004); Ferner (1997); Gill and Wong (1998). The Sub research questions (**SRQ’s**) are the fall-out’s from the **KRQ’s**.

The **KRQ1** could be regarded as the central theme of the research because it was the act of omission of the British colonial masters to disregard culture while transferring management practices (political democracy inclusive) in general and employment relations practice in particular to Nigeria and other former colonies that brought about the dislocations which will now be investigated. The main agent of the transfer of these management practices including employment relations practice were the British MNC's and this was what brought about the **KRQ2**. These MNC's also disregarded the impact of socio-cultural factors while transferring the management practices in general and employment relations practices in particular.

The two sub-research questions (**SRQ's**) are the fall-outs from the key research questions **KRQ's** especially after the political independence of the former British colonies including Nigeria. **The SRQ4** especially focussed on the attempts of the Nigerian Government and the people of Nigeria to solve or to limit the damages brought about by the failure of the British colonial masters to consider the impact of the differences in socio-cultural factors between Great Britain and Nigeria on one hand and the ethnic groups merged together to form what is today known as Nigeria on the other hand while transferring the management practices in general and employment relations practice in particular.

Research propositions: It must also be stated that the British colonial masters after the successful transfer (at least as far as they were concerned) of the British Voluntarist ERP, went further to transfer to Nigeria (and other former British colonies) the British Parliamentary democratic practices; this replaced the

monarchical dictatorship political system in practise in most of the territories merged to become Nigeria (Yesufu, 1982). The Parliamentary political democratic system has been in practise in the United Kingdom since 1265 with the first elected parliament; although the Magna Carta was issued in 1215 which limited the authority of power holders (Kelly, 1987). The English Bill of Rights and Scottish Claim of Right were issued in 1689 (Kopel, 1995). Simon de Montfort introduced the notion that power holders are responsible to those who elected them in 1265 yet only the landowners were allowed to vote in the 1265 English election (Maddicott, 1996).

According to Holt and Holt (1992), the territories now know as Great Britain was under the monarchical rule, but in 1215 the tenants –in –chief was able to secure Magna Carta from King John which eventually established the fact that the King may not levy taxes (except for the feudal taxes which were hitherto accustomed) except with the consent of his Royal Council which eventually developed into a Parliament. According to Lucas (1990); Colley (2005) and Kelly (1987), the Act of Union of 1707 merged the English Parliament with the Parliament of Scotland to become the Parliament of Great Britain; the Parliament of Ireland was abolished in 1801 and its former members merged with the Parliament of Great Britain to become the Parliament of the United Kingdom which makes it one of the oldest legislative bodies in the World today.

With the colonilisation of Nigeria by the British, the concept of Parliamentary political democracy was introduced to Nigeria and the first election was in 1959 (Kurf, 1983; Post, 1963). As there was no party with enough majorities, a coalition government was formed between the Nigerians People's Party (NPC) and the

National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) led by Nnamdi Azikwe; Action Group (AG) led by Obafemi Awolowo was the opposition party; Azikwe became the Governor General while Tafawa Balewa was the Prime Minister (Oyugi, 2006; Mackintosh, 1965). In 1961, Southern Cameroon opted to join the Republic of Cameroon, while the Northern Cameroon remains in Nigeria (Le-Vine, 1971). In 1963 Nigeria parted with the British colonial government and became a Federal Republic with Nnamdi Azikwe as the President while Tafawa Balewa remained the PM (Watts, 1999).

After the 12th December 1959 elections, the next election in Nigeria was in March 1965; but by January 1966 the military took over and no elections were conducted until July 1979 (Ademoyega, 1981; Mainasara, 1982). From 1979 to 1983 Nigeria was under the democratic rule but from 1983 to 1993 the military took over again (Adejumobi, 2000). The next Presidential election was in June 1993 which was annulled by the military dictator, General Ibrahim Babangida after which the next election was in February 1999 followed by the 2003 election and later in April 2007 another elections followed; the next elections are expected in 2011 (Kurf, 1983). From the above it is obvious that Nigeria has witnessed more military rule than civilian rule; therefore one can conclude that political democracy has not succeeded in Nigeria especially if compared with the United Kingdom (Unegbu, 2003). The failure can be traced to the differences in culture between the 'new' territory now known as Nigeria and the UK (this will be discussed in more details in Chapter Two).

In order to proceed with the study three propositions were put forward in the traditions of Sundar *et al.* (1993); Bharadwaj *et al.* (1993); Kerin *et al.* (1992); Oliver

(1989); and Simonson (2005). The research propositions are as follows: the first proposition is: 'the more industrialised a country is, the more democratised politically and the more the clamour for industrial/ economic democracy in the workplaces in the country'. This is grounded on the works of Kochan & Osterman (1994) Tower *et al.* (1987); Bantock, 1968; Hyman & Mason (1995). All the above mentioned scholars established a strong relationship between industrialisation, political democracy and economic/industrial democracy; all the three phenomena were legacies of the British colonialism.

Hyman and Mason (1995) further distinguished between the concepts of participation in decision making and mere involvement in decision making processes. They (1995) recommended participation because this is nearer to real participation in the political democratic processes where people directly elected those to govern them and periodically. Industrialisation involves the use of technology and this is enhanced with education, which is likely to increase the clamour for participation in decision-making processes in the workplaces as it is done in the larger society (Bantock, 1968).

It is therefore not a coincidence that the most economically developed countries of the world are also the most technologically developed; this is also reflected in the level of education (Ibid, 1968). Education liberates the people as they ask for their rights and demand to be fairly and equally treated (Lipset, 1958). As mentioned earlier, industrialisation of the world started in Great Britain through the Industrial Revolution and the country is more industrialised than Nigeria (Clapham, 1926). The former is also more technologically developed and the citizens are more educated (Fajana, 1991).

For example, United Kingdom spent £44,176 million or 4.62% of the GDP in 2000 on education and £49,354 million or 4.92% of the GDP in 2001 (British Department of Education and Skills, 2002). In Nigeria according to Ajetomobi and Ayanwale (2004:1) 'the proportion of GDP that goes to education is still low' and between 1970 and 2004 it never crossed the 1% line. Education will therefore be available to more people in Britain with under 61million people (British National office of Statistics; July 2008 estimate) than in Nigeria with over 149 million people (Office of the Nigerian President, April 2009) and with less money allocated to education.

The second proposition is: 'the more the practice of political democracy is enshrined in the larger society as a whole the more likely the clamour for industrial/economic democracy in the workplaces'. This is grounded on the works of Rugman and Hodgetts (2000); they concluded that except in Japan, there is always a strong relationship between political democracy and industrial democracy. This proposition has been formulated because both management practices –political democracy and economic/industrial democracy- were transferred to Nigeria and other former British colonies without any considerations for the difference in the socio cultural, political and economic realities of the two countries as well as without any consideration for the differences in the socio-cultural, political and economic realities of the different ethnic groups that were merged together and named Nigeria.

The failure of the newly introduced political democracy in Nigeria led to the various military coups, which led to the clamour for separation, which invariably led to the civil war of July 1967 to January 1970; this could also be made to account for the various rigging of elections as well as political and financial corruptions (Nordlinger,

1977; Feit, 1968; Tamuna, 1970). The failure of the introduced British type of employment relations practice which embodied the British type of industrial democracy led to the constitutional provisions of the 'Federal Character' which rather than solving the problem created more problems for the newly introduced British Voluntarist employment relations practice (Osaghae, 1988).

The third proposition is: 'the more the practice of economic/industrial democracy, the more the industrial peace, the more the industrial stability, and the higher the productivity'. This is grounded on the works of Heller (1998) who establish a strong relationship between economic/industrial democracy and productivity. This proposition is to investigate how and why Nigerian workers who for socio-cultural and economic reasons are not likely to participate actively in the political democratic processes as well as industrial democratic processes will be productive in their various workplaces.

The fourth proposition is: 'the farther away the Hofstede's (1980, 2001) 'power distance', the more likely will the managers see themselves as 'lords' and see the workers as 'servants' or subordinates; the nearer the Hofstede's (1980, 2001) 'power distance' the more managers see the workers as colleagues and partners in progress'. Hofstede (1980, 2001:83) perceives 'power distance' as a 'measure of the interpersonal power or influence between B and S as perceived by the less powerful of the two'. The less powerful in this study is the worker while the more powerful will be the manager.

Research structure: The study will look at the difficulties, challenges, failures, successes and benefits of the transfer from two perspectives: (1) The countrywide, and (2) the industrial plant level-. The countrywide perspective will trace the history of wage employment; the spring-board on which the transfer of the British Voluntarist employment relations system was launched from the first Nigerian wage earner through the colonial administrator's efforts at introducing and entrenching wage employment and finally to the coming of the first multinational company when the British Voluntarist employment relations system was finally and firmly entrenched in Nigeria. The second perspective – the industrial plant- the study will compare the processes of industrial/economic democracy in both plants - Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and Cadbury Worldwide UK selected as the case study for the study. Levels of participations in decision making in the two plants will be assumed to determine the degree of industrial/economic performances in the plants *ceteris paribus* (all other things being equal or held constant).

The study will be divided into the following chapters: Chapter One will deal with the theories, trends and the development of employment relations practices in Great Britain during the post 1800 period; Chapter Two enumerates the introduction of the British Voluntarist employment relations system which replaced the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system. Chapter Three deals with the business history of Cadbury Worldwide, Cadbury Worldwide UK Plc and that of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc; Chapter Four presents the research methodology adopted for the study. It shall first highlight the theoretical considerations guiding the research and subsequently reviews the research methods utilised in the study.

Chapters Five and Six will present the findings and its interpretations using the narrative analysis technique while Chapters Seven and Eight will deal with the discussions, conclusions and put forward some recommendations as well as suggest areas where further researches could be concentrated, the last chapter (Chapter Eight) will also state the limitations of the research. Finally, the thesis identifies that culture plays a significant role in the transfer of employment relations practices in particular and other management practices (political democracy inclusive) in general and that it will be difficult if not impossible to devise or develop an employment relations practice or any other management practice in one cultural area and transfer same to another cultural area or areas.

Chapter One: Theories, trends and developments of employment relations practice in Great Britain: Post 1800

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the theoretical, trends and developments in the employment/industrial relations practice (ERP) in the United Kingdom from the Industrial Revolution periods of the late 18th and early 19th centuries when employment shifted from the old ‘cottage’ industry to centralised employment through the factory system (Bantock, 1968). This early development was witnessed particularly in agriculture, manufacturing and transportation sectors (Feinstein, 1998; Flanders, 1974). These changes in the United Kingdom subsequently spread throughout Europe, North America, and eventually spread to the whole World, and more recently to Nigeria (Ashton 1948; Ekundare, 1973; Williams, 1976).

This chapter also summarises the history of trade unionism from the start of industrialisation to the early 21st century, the development of Employers’ Association, the origin of economic/industrial democracy, the development of management prerogative and management style, the process of collective bargaining in the United Kingdom and the chapter closes with some brief discussions of culture and diffusion of culture. These phenomena, their functions and developments will also be examined. This will subsequently be compared with the trends and the developments of ERP in Nigeria in Chapter Two. This chapter will be looked at from the perspectives of the **KRQ1** and **KRQ2**. Practices associated with industrial relations and employment relations are often used synonymously and interchangeably as suggested by Salamon (2000) and Budd and Bhav (2006:1); same usage will be adopted in this study.

1.1 Defining and explaining employment relations

Blyton and Turnbull (2004) suggest that the current increase in the use of the term 'employee relations' could be because of the 'disintegration' of industrial relations system and the urgent need to 'recast the field more broadly to include the formal and informal processes of people management in the workplace' (Debrah and Mmieh, 2009:1555). This disintegration of industrial relations was as a result of among other things the changes in the recent organisational environment as well as probably a reaction to the theoretical critique of the discipline (Edwards, 1995; Wajcman, 2000; Ackers and Wilkinson, 2003). The critique pointed out that the term 'employee relations' is more frequently used in the literature and in most cases used interchangeably with HRM; but the term 'employment relations' is seen as better and preferred; it will therefore be adopted in this study (Edwards, 2003).

Defining employment relations involves a range of complex patterns of interactions between different work-related groups such as trade unions and employers at organisational level, and the state and its agencies in the regional as well as at the national levels (Rose, 2004). Bain and Clegg (1974) see the discipline of employment relations as the study of rules that govern employment, as well as the ways in which the rules are changed, interpreted and administered. Blyton and Turnbull (1998) and Kelly (1998) perceive employment relations as the framework within which complicated interactions between employees and employers are conducted, both collectively and individually.

Blyton and Turnbull (2004) suggest that employment relations portrays the distinctive characteristics of all employment relationships either individual relationships or

collective relationships. They (2004) further suggested that understanding employment relations involves locating it within the broader nature of the economic activity involved and also taking into considerations the structural basis of the probable conflict and accommodation between employee and employer; the persuasion as well as the manipulation of the larger society on employment relations is also important. Therefore the nature of the employment relations in any organisation should be seen in relations to the wider socio-economic, political and legal structure (Debrah and Mmieh, 2009:1555).

Employment relations are consequently not only involved in the deployment or utilisation of human resources but also in the experience as well as the expectations of labour in the workplace along with the wider society (Debrah and Mmieh, 2009). It involves the formations and implementation of policies which included activities that are intended at enhancing the working lives of the employees; which include the strategies to enhance the competitiveness of the organisation (Blyton Turnbull, 2004). Harney and Dundon (2006) suggest that employment relations are designed to guarantee the strategic administration of people in order to achieve organisational efficiency and effectiveness. To achieve this is an up hill task but not impossible bearing in mind the different factors affecting the nature and characteristics of employment relations (Debrah and Mmieh, 2009).

Blyton and Turnbull (1994) identify four significant reasons why the study of employment relations is important for those interested in the management of people: the first is the fact that the world of work remains central to the lives of people which invariably provoked an interest in the settlement of terms and conditions of

employment and also examines how people are treated at work. Secondly in all sectors of the economy employees are usually treated as a very important factor of production. Thirdly, employees and employers may share a common interest in terms of ensuring the survival of the enterprise, yet employers will want to make profit while employees will aspire for wages and employment security. Lastly, despite the decline in the collective dimension to employment and the emergence of individualism (often under the banner of Human Resources Management) does not signal the end of the importance of the need to understand collective employment relationship.

Edwards (2003: 1-2) feels that the focus should be on 'all forms of economic activity in which an employee works under the authority of an employer and receives a wage in return for his or her labour'. (He, 2003) compares employment relations with industrial relations and concludes that while the latter is restrictive in the sense that it excludes self-employed people, the domestic workers as well as the professionals working on their own; the former is more comprehensive as it includes all these categories of workers as well as workers in paid employment, workers in manufacturing, tertiary, public and private sectors which are the main focus of industrial relations.

Gospel and Palmer (1993) provide what could be regarded as a comprehensive and concise definition of employment relations, by defining it as an economic, social and political relationships through which employees provide manual and mental labour in exchange for rewards from the employers. They (1993) also stated that rewards from employment could be economic, social, and psychological and that efforts of

employees could be by rendering skilled labour or unskilled labour. Employees could be closely monitored or left alone to use their initiatives and /or individual creativity. The employment relationship could be on a short term or on a long term. Kochan and Katz (1988:6) suggest that 'the primary trend running through industrial (employment) relations research and policy prescriptions is that labour is more than a commodity ----- and more than a set of human resources'; they (1988:6) also identify 'an inherent conflict of interest between employees and employers' which emanated from 'a clash of economic interests'.

From the above definitions and explanations, the following characteristics of employment relations can be construed: the degree to which workers are able to define their interests is both crucial and problematic (Edwards, 2003); the interests may include the pursuit of higher pay, job security, career progression or development and the training available at the workplace (Guest and Conway, 1999). The interest of employers within a capitalist system especially in the private sector is to secure maximum profits through securing the best available productivity and efficiency methods from the workers (Kelly, 1998). This is where conflict is located; as the interests of workers translate into costs to employers which at least in the short run are likely to reduce profits (Budd and Bhawe, 2006). Employees are in a subordinate position to that of employers in the employment relationship and are subjected to constant challenges by the employers as they try to redefine and realign workers interests within the organisational goals (Guest and Conway, 1999).

This subordinate position endured by workers is formalised in the employment contract which states that employees exchange their labour for a specified amount of

money/remuneration (Budd and Bhav, 2006). Blyton and Turnbull (1994:23) suggest that employment relationship is unavoidably an authority relationship between superior and subordinate where the employee agrees to accept and follow the 'reasonable' directives of those in positions of authority. Employment relationship is also characterised by the power relationship between the workers unions and the employers or the employers' associations. Employees organise themselves collectively to generate more power in the employment relationship (Budd and Bhav, 2006). Kelly (1998) summaries this by suggesting that workers organised within a trade union so as to have more power due to collective strength in order to be able to confront the employer through the process of collective bargaining.

Lastly, employment relationship is also characterised by the nature of individual worker's relationship with the employer as regards contracts of employment, discipline, individual grievances, individual redundancy and discrimination (Millward, *et al.*, 2000). Unions and various government policies especially the laws regulating minimum wages and hours of work helped to 'moderate the unequal bargaining power between employees and employers so as to balance the power relationship and not make it tilt too greatly in favour of employers' (Budd and Bhav, 2006: 5.1). The role of the state will be discussed in more details later in the chapter; meanwhile the employment relationship will be discussed below.

1.2 The employment relationship

Employment relationship refers to the relationships that exist between employers and the employees in the working environment, these relationships may be formal as in contracts of employment and procedural agreements (Kelly, 1998). The relationships could also be informal as in psychological contract, which presumes ‘certain assumptions and expectations about what managers and employers have to offer and are willing to deliver’ (Armstrong, 2005; 287). Employees are a significant part of the employment relationship but they are not to be seen as commodities or just another factor of production as it is assumed under the traditional orthodox theories of supply and demand (Budd and Bhawe, 2006; Kaufman 1993; Webbs 1897).

Budd *et al.* (2004: 3) argue that the starting point for the treatment of the employment relationship should be the objectives of the relationship and that in neoclassical economics the objective was reduced to ‘allocative efficiency’. (They, 2004:3) further claimed that the unseen hands of competitive markets will point ‘self-interested individuals towards efficient outcomes in which aggregate welfare is maximised and scarce resources are used to their most productive ends’. They (2004) later concluded that the key objective of the employment relationship is efficiency.

There are three key actors and stakeholders within a typical modern employment relationship; they are employees, typically represented by trade unions, employers often represented by employers’ associations on an industrial, regional or national basis and the State through mediation, as a public sector employer and through labour legislations (Dunlop, 1993; Ciulla, 2000, Kelloway *et al.*, 2004). According to Kochan and Katz (1988:6) employees have diverse interests and Budd and Bhawe

(2006:5-5) identify four categories of employee interests as follows: (1) survival and income, (2) equity and voice, (3) fulfilment and social identity and (4) power and social control. The second primary actor in the modern employment relationship is the employer and the interests are: profit maximisation, stakeholder/shareholder, executive and manager (Budd and Bhawe, 2006:5-11).

The third major actor in the employment relationship is the State with five major roles which include regulative roles; passing of laws regulating workers, workers' representatives, and the workplaces (Kelloway *et al.*, 2004). Employers' role; the state is an employer of public sector organisations (Ciulla, 2000). Facilitative role; the state establishes social norms and provides support services for the employment relationship. The structural role consists of economic policies that determine the business environment (Kelloway *et al.*, 2004).

Finally, the constitutive role; the State determines how the employment relations is constituted, this is achieved by the type of economic system embraced by the State (for example the market-based capitalist economy) (Godard, 2005; Gillie, 1998). According to Budd and Bhawe (2006: 5-16-17), the interest of the State also includes the promotion of freedom and rule of law, promotion of equitable outcomes and 'an objective to support domination of the State'. The three main perspectives underlying the nature of the employment relationships are pluralism, unitarism and the radical/critical (Ibid, 2006:5:20); these perspectives are discussed below.

1.3 The unitary employment relationship

The unitary employment relationship policies and practices bring together the interests of workers and employees (Lewin, 2001). Management and workers are assumed to have a unity of interests (Fox, 1974). If there is any conflict it is likely to be due to poor employment practices, the focus is towards the promotion of interests of both management and employees; policies are therefore created towards this focus (Bacon, 2003; Pfeffer, 1989; Ulrich and Brockbank, 2005). The emphasis is on the individual rather than collective identities, behaviours, and practices (Fox, 1974). In the unitarist employment relationship, unions are seen as unnecessary; the role of the state is therefore limited, although scholars like Levine (1995) advocates government policies to promote high performance work practices.

While scholars like Budd and Bhav (2006:5.23) suggest that State's role should only be seen as promoting the rule of law and economic transaction because this is important for organisational performance. This employment relationship is entrenched in precise values and in the assumptions pertaining to the 'interests of the employment relationship and the nature of conflict within this relationship'. (Budd and Bhav 2006:5. 23). The employment relationship provides a foundation for the study and the development of human resource management (HRM) especially by projecting common interests, culture and values within the company (Provis, 1966).

Farnham and Primlott (1995) suggest that this was why US companies operating in the United Kingdom prefer not to recognise trade union activities and not to negotiate with them. Trade unions are therefore seen as illegitimate interference into the unified and cooperative structure of the organisation and that trade unions are unnecessarily

competing with management for the loyalty and commitment of employees to their well-meaning employers (Rose, 2004). The pluralist employment relationship forms the primary critique of the unitarist employment relationship, which is discussed below.

1.4 The pluralistic employment relationship

The basic assumption underlying the pluralistic employment relationship is hinged on the fact that there existed a conflict of interest in the employment relationship which brought about power imbalance; trade unions are therefore needed to realign the power imbalance (Fox and Flanders, 1969; Guest and Peccei, 2001). Conflict is inherent in any social structure; there is therefore a need for structures to be put in place to control this conflict since it is inevitable (Gallie *et al* 1989; Troy, 1999; Friedman and Friedman, 1980).

The multiple and conflicting interests arise from the fact that employees want higher wages, employment security as well as a safe and conducive working environment; all of which translate to increase in production cost for the employers (Guest and Peccei, 2001). The employers on the other hand will be looking for lower labour costs: profit represents unremunerated work (Fox and Flanders, 1969). Employers will always want to minimise labour cost so as to maximise profit while employees who are rational human beings will want high salary with low efforts; there existed therefore a conflict of interest; yet both need one another (Ackers, 2008). Despite the above contradictions and conflicts, the worker still needs a place to practise his trade and earn a living while the employer needs the worker to produce goods and provide services in order to make profit (Clegg, 1975; Fox, 1974).

The role of the State is therefore essential in promoting equitable outcomes; this is because inequitable outcomes are the products of imperfect market and the imbalance in the power relationship between employers and employees (Ackers, 2008). Unions are thereby seen as ‘productive counterweight to corporate power; social insurance and mandated minimum standards (by the state)’, they (employees union) also ‘help protect all workers against the vagaries of the business cycle and corporate power’ (Budd and Bhawe, 2004: 5.24). Pluralist assumptions that conflict of interests is inherent in the workplace between employers and employees could develop into class conflict which forms the basis of the ‘radical’ philosophical assumptions of the employment relationship; which will be discussed below (Rotmas and Morjolein, 2001). It must be stated that the pluralistic perspective will dominate the thinking of this author in this research.

1.5 The radical or critical employment relationship

The radical/critical employment relationship claims that political and industrial conflicts have become institutionally separated and that industrial conflict has become less violent contrary to the predictions of Marx and Engles (1958). Conflict is seen as inevitable, so attention should now be focussed on causes of conflict (Dahrenclord, 1959: 257; Farnham and Pimlott, 1979: 55). Conflict is entrenched in the power and control interests of employers and employees; the employment relationship is therefore seen as a struggle for power (Gall, 2003; Hyman, 1975). The radical/critical employment relationship shared the view that labour is more than a commodity or a factor of production with the pluralists but unlike the pluralists where the conflict is confined to the employment relationship; the radical/critical employment relationship

perceives conflicts in the employment relationship to be part of a broader societal clash between competing parties (Budd and Bhawe, 2006: 5.24; Kelly, 1998).

The Marxist assumption is based on the fact that employer-employee conflict is a manifestation of unequal power relations between the capitalists and the working classes in the larger society; for the capitalists to reproduce capital labour must be reproduced which is at odds with the cost minimisation and profit maximisation interests of employers of labour (Greene, 2003; Lustig, 2004). The overall effect is the reduction in the living standards of workers who will soon be unified and overthrow the capitalist system (Amott and Matthaei, 1996; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Gottfried, 2006). In the radical/critical employment relationship, the labour market is seen as a socially-based instrument of power and control and not as a neutral forum for matching workers with employers (Legge, 1995).

It is therefore not a voluntary exchange but a contested exchange; there is therefore a need for a strong militant trade union to protect the workers both in the workplace and in the larger society especially in the political areas (Hyman, 1975). Unions are needed in the larger society because the State is likely to help in perpetuating the dominance of the capitalists (Bowles and Gintis, 1990). The understanding of the radical/critical employment relationship is based on the analysis of the interests of the actors, employees, employers and the State coupled with how they interact and the compatibility of the various interests of the actors (Goldberg, 1980). The various manifestations that emerge through the interactions of the actors in the United Kingdom will be discussed below.

1.6 The British Voluntarist employment relations practice: historical perspective

The British Voluntarist' employment relations practice was developed based on the prevailing social, political and economic philosophy at the period of industrial revolution of the 18th and early 19th centuries in Britain (Florence, 1957:184). This was that of *laissez-faire* with respects for individual liberty, which was based on the Benthamite utilitarian principle; which postulated that the individual knew what was in his/her best interests and if left free, would pursue and maximise those interests (Ibid, 1957).

This philosophy brought about individual freedom of contracts which included the employment contract and also restrained the State from intervening directly in employment relations practice (Flanders, 1974). The forces of supply and demand were believed to be enough to determine wages and working conditions at economically and socially acceptable levels without the State or any other institution intervening; the State has therefore played a very minimal role in the British employment relations system (Yesufu, 1982:31).

The rapid growth of industries in the UK at the end of the 18th and the early 19th centuries as well as the relatively new modes of industrial structure contributed to the creation of the British Voluntarist employment relations system; the factory system became predominant (Briggs, 1953; Clapham, 1939). Taylor (1842:4) suggests that 'it (factory system of production) exists and must continue to exist; it is not practicable, even if it were desirable, to get rid of '. It was the factory system that brought a large number of people together who previously were working within the cottage/'putting out' system (Carlsson, 1995). The factory system brought about major changes in

agriculture, manufacturing and mining, which had a profound effect on the socioeconomic and cultural situation of the country (Taylor, 1842). There was a major transition from manual labour and draft animal-based economy to machine based manufacturing; which brought about a new socio-economic organisation and system (Carlsson, 1995).

The factory system also separated employers, who in most cases were the owners of the means of production, from the employees who were made to work together and expected to co-operate with one another in the processes of production (Taylor, 1842). The factory system economically increased total output through specialisation and economies of scale but socially it imposed a collective personality on the production processes and ‘emphasized divergences of interest between masters and men and the implicit and sometimes open conflict between them’ (Briggs, 1953: 4).

The earlier cottage industrial system was grounded on the traditional network of social relationships which was held together by ‘deference and hierarchy’, while the factory system tore apart existing relationships and failed to replace them with new ones which could have influenced ‘the subordinate status of the worker while augmenting the influence of new and often rough masters’ Bamford (1893:101-111). This was emphasised by Ibid (1893:101-111) in an interview with an employer who stated that ‘this insatiable thirst after money and power, which is now making great progress amongst mankind, will, in the end divide the masters and workmen in this country, making the former into a set of tyrants and the latter into a fearful multitude of moody, hateful slaves’. The cottage industry in Britain was similar to the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system in that manufacturing took place within the

family and there was no need to move a long distance from ones home to work (Yesufu, 1982; Ubeku, 1993).

The emergence of the factory system in the UK came between 1790 and 1830 and to the onset of the Industrial Revolution (Crouset, 1972). The reasons for its emergence according to Crouzet (1972) and Hudson (1992) are as follows: firstly, the growth of wealth which was derived partly from the geographical explorations as well as from growing commercial and banking activities. Secondly, the increase in demand brought about by the increase in population due to falling death rate and a drastic reduction in infant mortality rate; and lastly, the introduction of new products and the development of new technology.

The new factory system brought about a new spirit of order and discipline (Bamford, 1893). Marx (1930:403) comments that ‘in place of the individual machine, we now have a mechanical monster, whose body fills the whole factory’. Even outside the factory premises the new spirit of order and discipline of timetables spread as observed by the Hammond’s (1930:28) who states that ‘-----The machine in this sense governed industry where the machines itself was not in use’; invariably employees were at the mercy of both the employers and the machines.

The new factory system brought about centralised employment which Williamson (1998) claims brought about more efficient production as leakages were reduced, skills were better utilised, transportation expenses were reduced and co-ordination made easier. Landes (1969) claims that the factory system brought about advanced technologies especially through the power driven technologies which required more

space. Other scholars like Marglin (1974) suggests that the factory system brought about the opportunity for greater supervision and greater output can be extracted from workers at a lower cost which translated to more work but less pay. The capitalists were therefore able to take over complete control of the production process and workers were left to decide whether to work or not to work; if they decide to work they must be under the control of machines and the owners of capital, if they decide not to work they and their children will starve to death (Marx, 1930).

This is not to conclude that there were no ‘good’ employers whose ‘goodness’ was based on religion, paternalism or both; they realised that ‘good’ industrial/employment relations were good for business (Hutt, 1926:21). Unfortunately the ‘good’ employers realized that the ‘bad’ employers in the same industries especially in the textile industry were undermining their efforts and that there was little they could do other than for government to intervene (Ibid, 1926:21).

Examples of such state interventions include: the Factory Acts of 1802, 1819, 1833, 1850, 1853; 1833; *Parliamentary Papers*, XX: 35-36 (Wood, 1832:10; Playfair, 1893; *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 1833: 423). Employment relations in post war Britain in the 20th century developed in two distinct directions, one is the formal practice embodied in the official institutions, and the second is the informal system, created through the behaviour of trade unions and employers’ associations, manager’s shop stewards and workers at lower employees level (*Donovan Commission Report*, 1968 Paragraph 46: 2).

The main feature of the British Voluntarist ERP is that trade unions and employers through their associations act as ‘joint authors of rules made to regulate employment contracts and ---- their own relations’; both parties may solicit for the use of third party assistance for conciliation, mediation, and arbitration purposes to reach agreements (Flanders, 1970:95). The British Voluntarist ERP is hinged on the following principles: the first is that ‘priority is accorded to collective bargaining over other methods of external job regulations’ (Flanders, 1970: 94). The second principle is that ‘the British system of industrial relations has traditionally accorded a priority to voluntary over compulsory procedural rules for collective bargaining’ (Ibid 1970:96): Freund (1954) refers to this as collective *laissez-faire*. The third principle is that ‘the parties to collective bargaining have generally preferred to build their relations more on their procedural (rather) than on their substantive rules’ (Flanders, 1970:98).

The three key institutions in the British Voluntarist employment practice are employees through their representatives, employers through the employers’ associations and the State through its agencies and legislations (Ackers and Payne, 1988). The intervention of State is very minimal when compared with some other developed countries; this was what made Kahn-Freund (1954: 44) to suggest that ‘---- --. There was perhaps no major country in the world in which law has played a less significant role in the shaping of industrial relations than in Great Britain and in which today the law and legal profession have less to do with labour relations’. The role of the state in the British Voluntarist employment relations practice is therefore limited to mere ‘providing an institutional framework for bilateral relations between management and labour’ (Keller, 1968:77). The three key institutions will now be

discussed starting with the workers representatives (trade union) which will be discussed below.

1.7 Trade unions and trade unionism in Great Britain

Lord Donovan's Report of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations 1968 paragraph 27:7 reviewed the combined effect of the following Acts of Parliament: Section 23, Trade Union Act 1871 Section 16, Trade Union Amendment Act 1876; and Sections 1 and 2, Trade Union Act 1913 and defined a trade union as 'any combination, whether temporary or permanent, the principal objects of which are under its constitution statutory objects, namely the regulation of the relations between workmen and workmen, or between masters and masters, or the imposing of restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business, and also the provision of benefits to members'.

This definition was later thought to suffer from 'the defects that it is too cumbrous, too wide, and too out of date. Historical reasons account for its being spread over three statutes' (Report of Lord Donovan's Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Association: 205). A new definition was later suggested as follows: 'Trade Union' means "any combination of employees the principal activity of which is the regulation of relations between employees and employers, whether such combination is in restraint of trade or not, and which is registered upon the Register of Trade Unions and Employers Association" (Report of Lord Donovan's Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Association: Paragraph 766:207).

The British Ministry of Labour provided a more precise definition of trade union as follows: ‘all organisations of employees including those of salaried and professional workers, as well as those of manual wage-earners – which are known to include among their functions that of negotiating with employers with the object of regulating conditions of employment’ (British Ministry of Labour Gazette, November, 1952: 375). The Certification Office quoting Section 1 of the Trade Union and Labour Relations (Consolidation) Act 1992 defined a trade union ‘as an organisation whether temporary or permanent which consists wholly or mainly of workers one or more descriptions and whose principal purposes include the regulation of relations between workers of that description or those descriptions and employers or employers’ associations’.

The Webbs (1920:1) define a trade union as ‘a continuous association of wage – earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives’. They (1920) perceive the fundamental objective of trade unionism as the conscious regulation of the conditions of employment in a way that will ward off from the manual-working producers the evil effects of industrial competition. Banks (1974) simply defined Trade Union as a continuous association of a life-long class of employees.

He (1974) went further to clarify the Webbs (1920:1) definition by suggesting that the Webbs ‘continuous association of wage-earners’ (may) ‘expand to include also salary-earners’ (and) ‘admits to membership only people who it may legitimately regard as equals, by virtue of their employment in a particular ‘trade’, however loosely this is defined’. He (1974:7) concluded that ‘Such an association is self-designated as a

union of equals, democratically organised; and it's of some sociological significance'. Hyman and Fryer (1977) define the concept as a social unit intentionally created; trade unions to them have measure of continuity over time despite changes in membership and official personnel with a clearly defined administrative structure.

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, most workers were self-employed under the putting out/cottage industry selling or at best workers were from the same family home; this was similar to the Nigerian Paternalistic employment/industrial relations practice (Yesufu, 1982). With the advent of industrialisation, workers came into the workplaces or the factories in large numbers and from different family backgrounds as well as from different geographical areas (Hunt, 1981). The factory system therefore brought a new experience to the worker (Hyman and Fryer, 1977). Workers were forced or made to work centrally in an urban and factory environment, early crafts unions later developed to restrict the supply of labour so as to maintain high salaries (McIlroy, 1995).

After a long time of dealing or negotiating with the owners of capital individually, these people realised that they must come together to negotiate with the owners of capital or they will be exploited for ever (Hunt, 1981). According to Bottomley (1983:164-165) 'what cannot be individually achieved can be collectively achieved – collective action working through trade union'. The Webbs (1911) suggest that one of the main functions of British trade unionism included constantly resisting attempts to lower the standard of living of its members by employers. There was also a consensus that it had contributed a lot towards increasing the status of the individual worker, as he or she now has a strength which is derived from the collective action while

working through the union and what he cannot individually achieve can now be achieved through the union collectively (McIlroy, 1995).

Trade union organisations are now the largest social and economic grouping in Britain (Booth, 1995). Poole (1981) states that one of the outcomes of the transformation of industrial societies from their earliest foundations was the increase in the numbers of trade unions and that they have also grown to become an important institutional structure in modern society. The Webbs (1911) argue that the industrial revolution and the massive development of international trade have everywhere brought the evils of unregulated competition into prominence. This according to them (The Webbs, 1911) led to the urgent need for workers to come together to contest these problems of unregulated competition. With the formations of the various workers' unions, the employers' have to find a way to balance out in the new power game; this gave rise to the formations of various employers' association. The second key institution in the British Voluntarist employment relations system; the employers' representatives (employers' associations) will be discussed below.

1.8 British employers' representatives and their role in the British employment relations: historical perspective.

Smith (1776:59) suggests that as far back as the eighteenth century there existed an understanding between employers, he (1776:59) perceives that '-----'. Masters are always and everywhere in a sort of tacit, but constant and uniform combination not to raise wages of labour above their actual rate'. There is an evidence to support that formal employers' associations were established in some places in the UK before the middle of the nineteenth century: for example a General Coal Masters' Association

was in existence in West Yorkshire at the time of the 1844 strike (Royal Commission of Trades Unions, 1867, Q12520). The Liverpool Master Ship Wrights 'reorganised their association' in 1823, after which it remained in existence, while the Cotton trade employers were in existence in Glasgow and several Lancaster towns around the same period (Social Science Association's Report on Trade societies:393- 482).

Howe (1947:10) confirms that employers' associations among the Master Printers can be traced back to the early eighteenth century. Most of the affairs of these early employers' associations were held in secret, and only heard of during industrial disputes and remained 'underground' during industrial peace; most of the activities of the employers' associations were not directly towards labour matters (Ibid, 1947:11-12). For example, the London Master Builders was formed as far back as early 1834 by 15 builders who met and resolved issues concerning their trade (Royal Commission of Trade Union of 1867, Qs. 2580, 2583).

The famous London building lock-out of 1859 brought about the Central Association of Master Builders which addressed the issue and was dissolved as soon as the issue was resolved (Royal Commission of Trade Union of 1867, Qs. 2626). Other employers' associations like the North of England Ironmasters Association were formed in 1863 to regulate prices and terms of sales of iron (Royal Commission of Trade Union of 1867, Qs. 2630).

What could be regarded as a formal and more stable organisation came into being with the formation of national federations in the 20th century; for example the Mining Association of Great Britain was established in 1854 as a trade association but only

started formally dealing with labour matters early in the 20th century, most of today's employers' federations in engineering, building, shipbuilding, shipping and printing all took their present shape in the early part of this century (Powell, 1950). By 1900 to the 1914's most of the employers' associations had started embracing trade unionism, for example The Royal Commission on Trade Unions of 1903 was told by the then President of the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation that 'if there were no trade unions I do not think that there would be any federation of employers', this was in line with various suggestions made to the 1891 Commission that 'organization on both sides was the best way of preventing strikes' (Royal Commission on Trade Union of 1903, Qs. 2971; Royal Commission of Trade Union 1891, Qs. 3081-5).

Today employers' associations are seen as playing a very important role in the British Voluntarist employment relations system; they were very small in the nineteenth century but the Report of Donovan's Commission of 1965-1968: 211 reported that the Register of Companies registered 118 employers' associations as at November 1965 while about 1,150 employers' associations were unincorporated associations of employers. All these associations were directly or indirectly involved with negotiation of wages and working conditions while 'many of them also concern themselves with such matters as standards forms of trading contracts, standardisation of products and so on' (Report of Donovan Commission 1968 Chapter 11 paragraph 29:7-8; paragraph 786:211).

Employers' associations are represented in all the British industries during the last century; employers' associations justified their existence 'as an evil necessitated by the undesirable actions'; the existence of employers' associations helped in no small

way in institutionalising British Voluntarist employment relations practice Clegg (1967:248). It should be stated that in certain circumstances the employers through the management may exercise some prerogatives which are usually referred to as management prerogatives which will be discussed below.

1.9 Management prerogative and management style

The concept of management came about as a result of delegation of powers by the owners of businesses to a specially trained group of people known as managers; it evolved as a result of industrialisation where ownership of capital had to be separated from the running of the business organisation (Fayol and Gray, 1984). Management prerogative otherwise referred to as management right is usually seen as the unqualified-authority of the employer through the management to exercise its discretion in certain areas without discussions with or the agreement of the workers or their representatives; in other words the employer or the management seeks freedom of action to make operational decisions that are not subject to negotiations (Williams & Smith, 2006).

These prerogatives/rights include the rights to assign and direct workforce, determine the method to discipline employees for just cause, the right to hire and fire and the right to determine outputs, products including sales of the company (Corbridge and Pilbeam, 1998). The employer or management might have a policy not to recognise trade unions, the only constrain on the employer or management will be the legal provisions of the country (Williams & Smith, 2006). If there is a policy to recognise the union, a limit may be formally set on matters that are subject to collective

bargaining; managers are then allowed to communicate directly with employees rather than through trade unions (Ibid, 2006).

Management style refers to the various ‘approaches employers choose to take as far as the collective employment relationship is concerned’, it also involves how ‘an employer wishes to view his relationship with his employees as a group’; this will include choices as to whether the employer wants ‘to engage with them through representatives whom they appoint or elect’ or the employer wishes ‘to establish formal mechanisms for consultations or negotiation’ (Torrington *et al.* 2008:495). Purcell and Sision (1983) were said to have developed ‘-----, one of best-known typologies of management style ----- following extensive research into the different approaches favoured by employers’ (Torrington *et al.* 2008:495). Purcel and Sission (1983:112-18) categorise management style into: (1) Traditional, (2) Paternalist, (3) Consultative, (4) Constitutional and (5) Opportunistic typologies.

The Traditional typology is the fire-fighting approach where employees’ relations is not considered important until a trouble starts. Renumerations are usually low and the employer is usually authoritarian and hostile to trade unions and trade unionism. This type of management style is found mostly in small and owner-managed businesses. The Paternalist typology is the management style where unions are regarded as unnecessary because of employer’s enlightenment; the pay is usually high; employees are usually encouraged to identify with the objectives of the business. The Consultative typology usually encourages participation of employees through their representatives in the decision-making process of the organisation. There is an

emphasis on problem-solving, informal approach to employee grievances and a two-way communication is encouraged.

The Constitutional typology is similar to consultative with emphasis on formal agreement 'to regulate relationship between two powerful protagonists'. This is usually found in large organisations. The Opportunistic typology is usually found in large companies 'devolving responsibility for employee relations to subsidiaries, with no common approach but emphasis on unit profitability'. The major limitation of the above typologies is the difficult of plotting some organisations into any of the typologies although they are generally found useful in most cases (Torrington *et al.* 2008:495).

Torrington *et al.* (2008:495-6) suggest that management styles can also be viewed in 'terms of the extent and nature of collective employee participation in decision making'. They (2008:496) recommend seven categories which are: (1) Normative (2) Disorganised (3) Organised (4) Consultative (5) Negotiated (6) Participative and (7) Consultative. This thesis will be grounded more on the 'Constitutional' typology as the companies in question, Cadbury Worldwide, Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and Cadbury Worldwide (UK) Plc are large with the possibility of 'devolving responsibility for employee relations to subsidiaries' (Torrington *et al.* 2008:495-6); the thesis will not ignore the 'Opportunistic' typology. It must be stated that contemporary management style especially in the sphere of employee relations is focussed towards more employee participation in decision-making processes; this is because this can enhance commitment to the organisations (Poole, 1989). The third key institution in the British Voluntarist employment relations practice, the State will be discussed below.

1.10 The role of the State in the British ‘voluntarist’ employment relations

Governments all over the world interact with other corporate actors to formulate and implement policies that will enhance the economic development of their citizens, but in the United Kingdom the state has ‘traditionally played a minor role in industrial/ (employment) relations’ (Keller, 1968:77). The most distinctive feature of the British Voluntarist employment relations practice is that ‘---. The State remained detached as much as possible from the process of collective bargaining in private industries’, the employers and employees are ‘free to come to their own agreement’; the state ‘imposed some, but few restrictions on the right of employees to strike or of employers to resort to a lock-out’ (Ibid, 1968:77).

The whole principle of non-intervention in employment relations practice rests on the ‘belief that it is better in the long run for the law to interfere as little as possible in the settlement of questions arising between employers and employees over pay and conditions of work’; this was based on the assumption that collective bargaining ‘should be encouraged and assisted to work smoothly but otherwise left to take its own course’. This policy of non-intervention had to be occasionally set aside especially during wars or economic downturn (Keller, 1968). The state also acts to provide a minimum standard to protect competition (Donovan Report on Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers’ Association, 1965-1968, paragraph 39:10).

In the late 1920’s and early 1930’s because of the economic downturn caused by the Second World War, there was an attempt to control wages so as to reduce or at least control inflation; The British Ministry of Labour argued that ‘with a growing

insistence that wage control was unthinkable, that reliance must be placed instead upon the realism and moderation of organised Labour' (Hancock and Gowing, 1949:47). Another form of state intervention in the post-war years was through the nationalisation of some strategic industries and government's special relationship with the industries. Brown and Roberts (1952:52) remark that though nationalisation 'has not really changed the position in law or in substance', it (state intervention) 'has probably made the government figure more explicitly in the public esteem as the final court of appeal for wage claims in the basic industries'.

They (1952:52) further stated that '---. nor can it in these cases exercise only the good offices of a mediator ----- for the terms here are likely to mean changes in charges, and in wages elsewhere, that will run through the whole cost and price structure of the economy'. On a number of occasions the government had to intervene when severe disputes arose in the nationalised industries and government's influence in most cases influenced the outcomes. For example in 1950 when a general wage demand by the National Union of Mineworkers was being prolonged, the Prime Minister had to personally intervene in the negotiations between the union and the Coal Board; in 1951, a similar situation occurred with the railways (Allen, 1952:241).

Labour Party in 1976-1979 – and with James Callaghan as Prime Minister -, had to nationalised numerous enterprises but under the Conservative Party led by Margaret Thatcher whose political and economic philosophy were in favour of reduced state intervention, and an emphasis on free markets and entrepreneurialism, many nationally-owned enterprises were privatised, and there was a reduced government spending especially on social services like health care, education and housing

(Campbell, 2000:400). The result of the interactions between employers' or their representatives and trade unions and guided by the framework set out by the state is referred to as collective bargaining, which is discussed below.

1.11 Collective bargaining in the United Kingdom.

Flanders (1968: 252-253), defines collective bargaining as 'a method of settling the terms and conditions of employment of employees.' It involves employees acting together through their representatives, trade unions and whatever agreement reached will have 'a regulatory effect; it imposes limits on the employers' freedom of action in their relations with all their employees covered by the agreement – not only those who are members of a trade union'. He (1968:252-253) suggests that collective bargaining was distinguished from individual bargaining and public regulations; individual bargaining takes place between an individual worker and his/her employer regarding the contract of employment without 'entering into any arrangement with other employees', the employer is 'free to offer whatever terms he likes'. Ibid (1968: 253) concludes that public regulations on the other hand, are imposed by legislation, it 'usually provides for the legal enforcement of minimum terms and conditions of employment'.

Maciver and Page (1953:474) see collective bargaining as 'the process by which the antithetical interests of supply and demand, of buyer and seller are finally adjusted' so as to end 'in the act of exchange'. Individual bargaining is therefore one that is concluded between employers and employees in the labour market while collective bargaining is as a result of a process of bargaining between employees' representatives and employers or employers' association (Flanders, 1970). The Webbs

(1898) suggest that collective bargaining is one of the three distinct instruments or levers that unionists resort to so as to put into effect their regulations; the others being the methods of mutual insurance and legal enactment.

The Webbs (1898) did not define the term but rather explain it as follows: that in unorganised trades the individual worker, when applying for a job, accepts or refuses the wages and other conditions of work proposed by the employer without any communication with his fellow-workers; the employee therefore entered into an individual bargaining with the employer. On the other hand, if a group of workers bargain through their representatives with the employer, the situation is changed. This is because instead of the employer making different and separate contracts, the employer meets with workers representatives and enters into one single agreement which is binding on all members represented. The Webbs (1898) aim to characterise the alternative to the then popular individual bargaining process between an employer and the individual employees: it (collective bargaining) was referred to as negotiation concerning pay and conditions of employment between trade unions on the one hand and either the employer or an employers' association on the other hand.

The Webbs (1898) were criticised by Flanders (1968) for placing too much emphasis on the economic aspects of collective bargaining in an industrial relations setting. According to Flanders (1968) collective bargaining should be seen as a process of negotiation rather than a market activity. Flanders (1968) refined Webbs' (1898) work and defines the concept as a process of rule-making that will eventually lead to joint regulations in industry. He (1968) concluded that the process of collective bargaining contains an element of negotiation which is different from the process of consultation,

which does not involve the element of negotiation and the employer can unilaterally determine the outcome.

Flanders (1968) also criticised the Webbs' (1898) economic approach by placing an emphasis on industrial agreements as a compromise for settlements of power conflicts; the issues involved therefore are more political than economic. He (1968) distanced himself from over-politicising his analysis and noted that whenever unions are negotiating, it is usually from two perspectives: the first is the fact that they are seen as pressure groups employing collective readiness to work or to refrain from working, as a way of forcing the employer to come to terms with their requests.

Secondly, they agree with employers in the making of private legislation, the rules and orders of that control, not only wages, but condition of work such as dismissal, discipline, promotion, and training which cannot be included under price (economic approach). The reason for this is because according to Flanders (1968), labour is more than a commodity because it cannot be isolated from the life of the worker. Banks (1974) concludes that collective bargaining is more rightly conceived as prescribed by an institutional framework; this framework will be informed by what has appropriately been referred to as industrial jurisprudence.

Niland (1978) on the other hand, perceived collective bargaining as a process of fixing terms of employment and settling grievances by group negotiations between unions and employers. He (1978) suggests that to the extent that this process allows employees, through their union, to influence their wages and working conditions, collective bargaining is therefore a form of workers participation. He (1978) also

suggests that collective bargaining in its pure form, involves the following necessary conditions: dispute negotiation between management and unions; third party intervention is permissible only on a voluntary basis and as agreed by the parties.

He (1978) concludes that there is usually some considerable uncertainty at the beginning of negotiation as to the final outcome, but the parties have a philosophical commitment to direct negotiation and approach the process in good faith in the interest of the enterprise and that of the two parties. Where disagreements over terms of settlement persist, the parties themselves are responsible for resolving the impasses, at least until the public welfare is threatened and the parties negotiate from reasonably even bases of power, which was viewed as the ability to determine the terms and conditions of work.

The Agreement that comes out of the process of collective bargaining is referred to as Collective Agreement; which can be defined as a labour contract between an employer and one or more trade unions (Gregory, 1959). Collective Agreements consist of the process of negotiation between the representative of a union and employer - who may be represented by management or in some countries by employers' organisations - in respect of the terms and conditions of employment of employees (Ibid, 1959).

The issues that are usually brought forward include: wages, hours of work, working conditions, discipline, and security of work, pensions, rights and responsibilities of trade unions (Kahn-Freud, 1972). The outcome of the process is usually referred to as a Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA) or a Collective Employment Agreement

(CEA) which can be mediated or arbitrated by the state (Nord, 1985). Collective bargaining can also be seen as a human right issue which is worth legal protection (Risse, *et al.*, 1999; Donnelly, 2003). The right to organise as trade unions is identified as a human right in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Forsythe, 2006; Vincent, 1986). The International Labour Organisation's Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work defines collective bargaining as a core fundamental right of workers (Katz, 1993). As culture is the central theme of this study (please refer to **KRQ1** and **KRQ2**) the following sections will be dedicated to the literature review of culture and the diffusion of culture.

1.12 Culture and diffusion of culture

Culture has been variously defined as the way of life of a group of people (Akporderhe, 2002); Becker (1986:13) suggests that culture 'explains how people act in concert when they do share understanding.' quoting Taylor (1921), Olurode (1994) suggests that culture is that whole, which includes knowledge, belief, art, moral, law, custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society. Geertz (1973a) suggests that culture is the entire way of life of a people, including their technology and material artefacts.

Rugman & Hodgetts (2000) quoting Joynt and Warner (1996) suggest that culture is the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and to generate social behaviour, they (Joynt and Warner, 1996) further suggested that culture is shared by members of a community, organisation or a group and that through culture, values and attitudes are formed which invariably shape individuals as well as group behaviour. Culture to them (1996) is learned through education, socialisation and

experience and passed from one generation to another; therefore it can be said to be enduring.

This is not to overlook the fact that cultures do undergo constant changes as people are more or else forced to adjust to new environments and new ways of doing things (Barney, 1968; Steward, 1972). Swindler (1986) sees culture as consisting of such figurative vehicles of meaning, including beliefs, ritual practices, art form and ceremonies, as well as informal cultural practices such as language, gossip, stories and rituals of daily life. Culture to Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) and Hofstede (2001:9) is the 'collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another'.

They (2005:19-20) concluded that national culture is embedded deeply in everyday life, and although it is relatively impervious to change, this programming does evolve from generation to generation. This stand is supported by Ralston *et al* (1997) as well as Newman and Nollen (1996). Kluckhohn (1951: 86 n5) summarises all the above by defining culture as the 'patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values'.

In the international business literature, culture is seen as the acquired knowledge people use to interpret experiences and to guide their behaviour (Barney, 1986; Mirohnik, 2002). Culture is one of the major determinants of how people think and

behave (Kessapidou and Varsakelis, 2002). Hofstede and Hofstede (2005:2-3) suggest an analogy between culture and mental programming. They (2005) submit that culture is the patterns of feeling, thinking and acting to mental programmes which constitute what he refers to as the software of the mind. From the above discussions it is imperative that the transfer of employment practices (or other management practices) from one cultural area to another, as was done by the British colonial masters to their former colonies will be problematic since culture is enduring and impervious to change.

Edwards *et al.* (2004:1) suggest that ‘one of the key aspects of the role of multinational companies (MNCs) as employers is their ability to diffuse practices across borders’ and that ‘-----’. This process not only has the potential to drive change in national employment systems but can also influence, both positively and negatively, the competitive position of the firms themselves’, (please refer to **KRQ2**). They (2004:1) see the diffusion of practices as ‘a crucial test of how MNCs integrate the operations across quite distinct national systems’. They (2004) further identified four theoretical approaches through which one can understand why and how MNCs transfer management practices (including employment relations practice) across borders. The four theoretical approaches are: (1) the rational approach, (2) the institutional approach, (3) the cultural approach and (4) the micro-political approach. The cultural approach will be discussed in details below as it is the bases of **KRQ1** and **KRQ2**; the other three approaches will only be briefly discussed as they are only relevant but of less importance to this study.

The cultural approach has the nature of natural contexts as its bases, They (2004:3) submit that MNCs ‘bear the legacy of the culture of the country of origin and the nature and extent of diffusion is shaped by this as well as the cultures of the host countries in which they operate’. The attitudes and values prevalent in a country tend to restrain the ability of a multinational company to engage in diffusion of management practices in general and employment relations in particular (Tayeb, 1998). Other studies including that of Bae *et al.* (1998) and Ngo *et al.* (1998) demonstrate how culture shapes the diffusion of employment relations practice especially how the culture of the home countries gives a new identity to the MNCs. In this study, the British Voluntarist employment relations practice was transferred through the Royal Niger Company (RNC) a colonial MNC to Nigeria.

The above mentioned studies also suggested that cultural identity also creates a ‘country of origin’ effect that dictates the shape and substance of the transferred practice(s). The major limitations to the cultural theoretical approach are: (1) the way culture is usually captured as in Hofstede’s (1980) work which erroneously assume cultural homogeneity within a country (see McSweeney, 2002). In this study, the former British colonial masters assumed that all the ethnic groups merged together to become one Nigeria had one homogeneous culture; unfortunately this was very wrong (Easterly, 2001). The truth was that the various ethnic groups were sovereign entities on their own rights (Otite, 1990). In reality the over 250 ethnic groups were from different cultural backgrounds (Horowitz, 1985). (2) It is also difficult to trace the sources of national effects as well as failed to trace the sources of the values and attitudes and how these could change over time.

The 'rational' approach emphasises the competitive business environment and the need to respond as quickly as possible to the challenges posed by the competitors. The only way to respond is by resulting to the 'best practice'. This according to Taylor *et al.* (1996) is referred to as resource dependency approach to international HRM. The major limitation of this approach is the fact that there exists insufficient 'conceptualisation of the role of national context in shaping decisions affecting the diffusion of practices' (Edwards *et al.* 2004:1).

The 'institutionalism' approach according to Edwards *et al.* (2004:1) is an improvement on the 'cultural approach'. The approach explains how the cultural approach emerges in 'distinctive institutional configurations'. The major criticism of this approach is the fact that 'it can be deterministic because it risks playing down the role of differences of interest within MNCs and the way that these are resolved through power relations' (Edwards *et al.* 2004:1). The fourth approach is the 'political approach'; this approach focuses on the influence of individual employees and group members of the organisation and the resources that are used to protect or promote their personal interests as well as how the resulting conflicts are resolved (Broad, 1994). Unfortunately, the approach fails to put into consideration the fact that the natures as well as the resolution of the conflicts are determined by the way the MNE's operate within the national institutional frameworks on ground (Edwards *et al.*, 2004).

In this study the country of origin of the management practices (including political democracy, industrial/economic democracy and employment relations practice) will be the United Kingdom, the multinational companies will be the Royal Niger Company, Cadbury Worldwide, Cadbury (UK) Plc and Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc, while

the host country will be Nigeria. Relying on the studies of Edwards *et al.* (2004:1); Bae *et al.* (1998); Ngo *et al.* (1998) and Tayeb, (1998), the transfer of the British Voluntarist ERP (and other management practices) to Nigeria (and other former British colonies) will be problematic if not difficult mainly because the culture of the people of the country of origin, UK is different from the culture of the people of the country of destination, Nigeria just as the cultures of the people of the various ethnic groups merged to become one Nigeria are different.

1.13 Theoretical/conceptual perspectives of cross-cultural study

The existence of multiple and conflicting models of national culture simultaneously facilitated as well as serve as the major inhibition to the conceptual and empirical analysis of the impact of cultural differences in organisations; this also poses a major challenge to the discussions on the impact of culture on the transfer of knowledge including management practices which brought about divergent models of national culture (Nardon and Steers, 2009:3). Presently there are six models of national cultures that are ‘widely cited and utilized in the organisational research literature; these include models proposed by Kluckhohn and Schwartz, Hofstede, Hall, Trompenaars, Schwartz, and House and his GLOBE associates’ (Nardon and Steers, 2009:3). The theoretical framework of this study will be grounded on the works of Hofstede (1980, 2001).

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck model: This model is based on the works of Kluckhohn (1951) and that of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) in which they proposed a theory of culture that is based on value orientations. They argued that there are limited numbers of problems that are common to all human groups for which there are limited

number of solutions and that the values in any given society are distributed in such a way that helps create a central value system. They (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961) came up with five cultural dimensions: Relationship with Nature, Relationship with People, Human Activities, relationship with time and Human Nature based on their studies of five subcultures of the American Southwest : two Native American tribes, a Hispanic village, a Mormon village and a farming village of Anglo-American homesteaders (Nardon and Steers, 2009:3-4).

Hall's model: Hall (1981, 1990) proposed a model of culture based on his ethnographic research in Germany, France, US and Japan. He (1981, 1990) focuses on how cultures vary in terms of interpersonal communication, personal space and time. He is said to have originated terms like 'monochronic' and 'polychronic' which are commonly used today in cross-cultural management (Nordon and Steers, 2009:4).

Trompenaars model: Trompenaars (1993) and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) presented a slightly different model based on their study of Shell and other managers over a period of ten years; this model was built on the works of Hofstede (1980) and that of Parson and Shils (1951). The model focuses on variations in both values and personal relationships across cultures; the model consists of seven dimensions (universalism-particularism, individualism- collectivism, specific – diffuse, neutral-affective, achievement-ascription, time perspective and relationship with environment). The first five dimensions focus on relationships among people while the last two dimensions focus on time-management and society's relationship with nature (Nardon and Steers, 2009).

Schartz model: Schwartz (1992, 1994) took a more psychological perspective of culture and identified motivational goal as the most important distinction between societal values. He (1992, 1994) came up with ten universal human values which are reflected in needs, social motives and social demands (Kagitcibasi, 1997). These values are always present in all cultures and account for the universal needs of human existence; the human values identified are: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security (Nardon and Steers, 2009).

Schwartz (1994) contested that individuals and cultural analysis are conceptually independent; the individual level dimensions mirror the psychological dynamics experienced by individuals when acting on their values in their everyday lives. The cultural-level dimension on the other hand, demonstrates the solutions that are found in the society which help to regulate human actions (Nordon and Steers, 2009). Schwartz (1994) identified three cultural-levels analysis: conservatism and autonomy, hierarchy versus egalitarianism, and mastery versus harmony. This model was applied in the study of school teachers and college students in fifty –four countries; the model is of limited importance in organisational studies but has been widely used in basic areas of social behaviour (Bond, 2001).

GLOBE model: House *et al.*, (2004) came up with a very ambitious effort to study cultural dimesions in organisations; it was referred to as the “GLOBE STUDY’ for Leadership and Organisational Behaviour Effectiveness”. The international researchers (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman and Gupta) came up with nine cultural dimensions: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, humane orientation, institutional

collectivism, in-group collectivism, assertiveness, gender egalitarianism, future orientation and personal orientation.

They collected data from sixty-two countries and concluded that there are systematic differences in leaders across cultures; for example in the western countries participatory leadership styles were acceptable while they are of questionable effectiveness in the eastern countries. The Asian managers on the other hand place a heavy emphasis on paternalistic leadership and group maintenance while charismatic leaders are found in most cultures, but more assertive in some cultures and more passive in others (Nordon and Steers, 2009). In the Arab countries, family and tribal norms support highly autocratic leaders (House *et al.*, 2004). The GLOBE research was able to systematically study cultural dimensions as well as how variations in cultural dimension affect leadership behaviour and effectiveness (Nordon and Steers, 2009).

Hofstede's model: Hofstede (1980, 2001) was said to have advanced the most widely used model of national cultural on organisations (Nordon and Steers, 2009), his research focussed on the impact of national culture on management research (Leung and Ang, 2009). His model came out of a study of employees from various countries and working for major multinational companies, he based his assumptions on the fact that different cultures can be differentiated based on their various value systems. For example some cultures place more value on equality among individuals, while some cultures place high values on hierarchies or power distances between people. Some cultures value certainty in every day life and ended up finding it difficult to cope with unexpected and unanticipated events, while other cultures have a high tolerant for

ambiguity and will end up refusing or at best resisting changes (Nordon and Steers, 2009).

Hofstede (1980) came up with four major dimensions of culture: individualism-collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and masculine- femininity. The fifth dimension, Long-term versus Short-term orientation was added based on his (Hofstede) research with Bond (1984, 1988). Hofstede's (1980, 1984, 1988, 1998 (a, b, c, d), 2000, 2005) works with emphasis on work values have dominated researches on culture and management in the last twenty years (Leung and Ang, 2009). The five dimensions will be applied in the two companies (Cadbury Nigeria) Plc and Cadbury Worldwide (UK)) of this research. This study will be relying on Hofstede's (1980:2001) model because the case study was a multinational company, IBM just as that of Hofstede and the employees are from different cultural areas; this will be further demonstrated in Chapter Six.

Power distance according to Hofstede (2001:82) is a 'measure of the interpersonal power or influence between B and S as perceived by the less powerful of the two'; the term 'power' according to Mulder (1977:90) is 'the potential to determine or direct (to a certain extent) the behaviour of another person or other persons more so than the other way round'; Mulder (1977:90) went further to clarify the meaning of the term by claiming that 'power distance' is 'the degree of inequality in power between a less powerful Individual (I) and a more powerful Other (O), in which I and O belong to the same (loosely or tightly knit) social system'. Hofstede (2001:83) concludes thus: '-----'. The power distance between a boss B and a subordinate S in a hierarchy is

the difference between the extent to which B can determine the behaviour of S and the extent to which S can determine the behaviour of B’.

Uncertainty avoidance is seen as a basic fact of life that where ‘time goes only one way--- we are caught in a present that is just an infinitesimal borderline between past and future. We have to live with a future that moves away as fast as we try to approach it, but onto which we project our present hopes and fears’ (Hofstede, 2010: 146). Organisations like human beings rely on technology, law and religion to manage uncertainty; but unlike human societies uncertainty in organisations manifest more in technology and law, according to Hofstede (2001:147) ‘---. The use of technology looks extremely rational, but it hides implicit nonrational value choices’; while rules ‘are the way in which organisations reduce the internal uncertainty caused by the unpredictability of their members’ and stakeholders’.

Individuality versus collectivity is the different relationships between the individual and the collectivity, it is not primarily a matter of living together as it is intimately linked with the societal norms, values and conventions; it is ‘both people’s mental programming and the structure and functioning of many institutions aside from the family: educational, religious, political, and utilitarian’ it is our self- concept that is involved in this case (Hofstede, 2001:210).

Masculinity versus femininity deals with sex role which is seen as the core of cultural values; the major difference between men and women is the fact ‘that women bear children and men beget them’, both modern and traditional society have the tendency to distribute gender roles apart from procreation; for example men are expected to be

more concerned with the economy of the family while women are expected to take care of the family especially the children (Hofstede, 2001: 280). Long- versus short-term orientation deals with the outlook on work, life and relationships; short-term orientation is anchored on past and present orientations examples are Nigeria, Russia, Pakistan and the Philippines while long-term orientation is anchored on future orientation with emphases on hard work, dedication and thrift examples are China, Japan, Korea, and Brazil (Hofstede, 2002: 357-358).

The major criticism of Hofstede (1980, 2001) model is the case study, IBM; in as much as he tried to remove bias by conducting the study in '50 modern countries' with 116,000 questionnaires over a four year period (1968 to 1972) (Hofstede, 2001: xix), there is still the possibility of certain issues being particular to IBM and not necessarily shared by other multinational culture; in a nut shell the organisational culture of IBM will likely be unique to the company's employees and not shared by other employees of other multinational company. There could also be certain issues common to companies in the IT industry and not shared by others in other industrial sectors.

1.14 Industrial democracy: definitions and explanations

Interests in the concept of industrial democracy or workers' participation in the decision making processes in their various workplaces have developed among social scientists, political leaders, industrial managers and trade union leaders worldwide since the results of the Hawthorne experiments (1924-1933) were made public (Gani, 2001). This development led to the granting to workers more say in the decision-making processes in their various workplaces especially in the last three to four

decades; this renewed interest has been for different reasons (Gani, 2001: Haire *et al.*, 1966: Miles 1964). For example, scholars like Cole (2003), Comte (1855), Owen (1945) and Webb (1911) were more concerned with workers' participation and distributive social justice. Marx (1818) and others advocated for complete worker's control of workplaces (Gani, 2001, Chaudhuri, 1981).

Bendix (1971) predicts that political democracy will be short lived if industrial democracy is not sustained and Sehregle (1976:10) concludes that workers' participation worldwide, was no more a question of 'whether' or 'if' but of 'how'. The concept of workers' participation just like any other social science concept is used in a variety of ways and understood differently by social scientists, public officials, managers and trade union leaders (Chaudhuri, 1981). Gani, (2001) contended that the concept has gone through a lot of transformations in different countries; differences in socio-political and economic forces in the various countries mean that the concept is understood differently and practised differently.

French and Israel (1960) explain that participation is a process where two or more parties influence each other in defining objectives, designing policies and implementing joint decisions which affect all who take part in the making of the decisions or the people represented by the decision makers. Rugman and Hodgetts (2000) define industrial democracy as the legally mandated right of employees to participate in major management decisions. They (2000) further stated the areas that employees can participate in, these include: wages, bonuses, profit sharing, work rules, dismissals, plant expansions and plant closings. Niland (1978) while defining collective bargaining perceives the concept as a type of workers participation; he

(1978) contends that collective bargaining is a method of fixing terms of employment and settling disputes through group negotiations between unions and employers.

He (1978) further suggested that this process allows employees, through their unions, to influence their wages and working conditions; this could be referred to as collective bargaining; in such situations collective bargaining could therefore be seen as a form of workers participation. Workers should play a prominent role in the setting of rules; otherwise managers will make rules that will allow them (the managers) to retain control of key points in the decision making processes; in the establishment of such rules, the involvement of unions will be required (Blumberg, 1968). However, once rules are established, union activity becomes marginal; in all of this, government should at best be an impartial umpire as in the British Voluntarist ERP (Mizrahi, 2002).

Davis and Lansbury (1995) contend that industrial democracy has tended to give way to employee participation and consultation, though it was clear that trade unions were unconcerned about the labels; rather they are more interested in the substance of the influence that employees were able to exert over decision making. Poole (1986) defines industrial democracy as the use of power by workers or their representatives over decisions within their places of employment, coupled with a modification of the locus and allocation of authority within the workplace.

Hammer (1998:143) argues that industrial democracy refers to 'the structures and institutional mechanisms that give workers or their representatives the opportunity to influence organisational decision making in their places of employment'. Kilroy-Silk

(1970:169) suggests that the concept in general 'is taken to mean any theory or scheme so long as it is based on a genuine concern for the rights of workers in industry, particularly their right to a share in the control of industrial decisions.' Wall and Lischeron (1977) see workers' participation as the influence in decision making demonstrated through the process of interaction between workers and management. Blyton and Turnbull (1994) argue that this definition was general and included workers involvement; the definition was also seen as too complex and not practicable.

They (1998) further enumerated the following issues as the grey areas not clearly clarified by the definition as follows: (1). Depth of participation- this is the extent to which workers or their representatives influence the final decision which could range from minimal participation (little or no involvement) to moderate participation, as in joint consultation, collective bargaining and works councils; and to dominant participation as in the situation of workers' co-operatives. (2). The range or scope of decisions that are opened for participation: this relates to the willingness of management to broaden the scope of issues to be decided on.

(3). Forms of participation structure: (forms of participation may be from suggestion schemes to board level representations). They (1998) also suggested that there may be informal or formal mechanism and activities put in place or even direct or indirect methods of participation. The levels at which participation takes place may range from the unit or department or even again to workplaces where direct participation takes place. The purpose and outcomes of participatory activity may just be to merely communicate and inform workers of decisions that have already been made; this is usually referred to as pseudo –participation. Mizrahi (2002); Wachter and Wright

(1990); Akerlof, (1984), refer to workers' participation in decision-making as a new social contract, which is expected to guarantee long-term relationships between employees and employers, which are vital for a company's performance and stability, this is said to be one of the main advantages of the new social contract.

Mizrahi (2002) argues that this new social contract in the workplace should be based on worker's involvement at all levels of decision making and not through participatory rules alone. This is important because such rules create a vagueness regarding the true association between rules and outcomes. Workers therefore concentrate on changing workplace policy within the rules rather than changing the rules themselves. In that way, stability in the workplace and workers' satisfaction with the systems is achieved while efficiency can also be guaranteed through their commitments and loyalty.

He (2002) concludes that involvement of workers in rule making or rule formulation is the main issue involved in industrial democracy rather than workers just operating within rules that were already made or formulated by management. Milgrom and Roberts (1990) argue that on the management's side, participation of workers in decision-making processes helps to reduce influence and transaction cost and thereby pushes up the firms' performances and efficiencies. This point should not be overstretched as it may also encourage workers to augment their share in the firm's surplus, thus leading to inefficiency; there will therefore be a need to locate the most favourable level of workers' involvement, which may not necessarily be the maximum level of participation (Blumberg, 1968).

From the State's perspective, especially if it involves the drafting and enforcement of labour legislation, the level of involvement and the structure of participation can be set without seeking the opinions of workers or their representatives or through a bargaining process involving the workers representatives and management (Clegg, 1960). In the first instance, management even when the rules are participatory may still set the rules in a way to retain the control of the key areas in the decision making processes (Blumberg, 1968). In the second instance, workers will be better off bargaining on other issues except wages, at least temporarily: this will strengthen the workplace and the workforce on the long run and this will invariably create a good platform for workers' representatives to commence wage bargaining (Mizrahi, 2002).

Adams (1999:98) agrees that there is a need for partnership between labour and management and that such partnership will result into higher performance in the workplace; while Towers (1999:92) suggests that 'co-operative management in a participative context offers a viable route to greater enterprise efficiency'. It can therefore be concluded that an effective industrial democracy is beneficial to the employees and the employers as well as the society at large in terms of increase in GDP and the general well- being of all members of the society because of reduction in man hour lost to industrial strikes (Blumberg, 1968; Gani, 2001). The benefits of industrial democracy will be discussed below.

1.15 Benefits of industrial democracy

There are many benefits attached to the practice of industrial democracy; these include: less industrial dispute because of better communication between management and workers which leads to an increase in productivity and more efficient service delivery from a more fully engaged and happier workforce (James & Harwitz, 1992; Lawler *et al.* 1992); improved decision making processes that can lead to higher quality decisions that can eventually enhance organisational effectiveness (Lawler, *et al.*, 1992; Strauss, 1992; Gallie and White, 1993). This is simply because manual workers and management have come together to exchange ideas and arrive at a solution; the stress usually associated with workplaces can be reduced and this can increase the well-being of both workers and their managers; alienation can be reduced, morale can be boosted, and motivation can also be boosted (Poole, 1986; Senge, 1991; Cotton, 1993; Galie and White, 1993).

This is also likely to reduce absenteeism and can improve sense of personal fulfilment and self-esteem as time and resources are now put to better use (Kartz, *et al.* 1995; James and Harwitz, 1992). It can also lead to more loyalty and commitment from the workers to the workplace (Marchington *et al.*, 1993; Dahl, 1971; Putman, 1994, Pateman, 1970; Cotton, 1993; Sodhi *et al.* 1995). It can reduce power differences in the workplace (McAllister, 1992; Brown, 1989; Strauss 1992); it can foster industrial harmony which can help in the development of workers' personality growth as well as strengthen group identity (Marchington *et al.*, 1992; Osterman, 1994, Lincoln and Kalleberg, 1990, Sodhin *et.al.*, 1995). It can help to launch a harmonious economic system through a reduction in industrial strikes and more interestingly promote political democracy so as to ensure the expected cooperation between workers and

management or better still cooperation between capital and labour (Gain, 2001). Heller (1998) suggests that participation can help satisfy employees' non-financial needs including those for creativity, achievement and social approval. It can also contribute to a sense of competence, self-worth and self-actualisation (Gani, 2001). It can make use of the whole person as well as help both employers and employees to alter outcomes and this will improve their payoffs since both parties were involved in the decision making process (Mizrahi, 2002).

The rules are also likely to be more stable since both parties were involved in the rule making process; it can therefore breed mutual respect between workers and their employers and can also bring about an organisational culture of a deep appreciation of the need to share ideas (Mizrahi, 2002). Some of the benefits mentioned above compelled more companies to grant workers more say in the decision making processes in the workplace (Sodhi, *et al.*, 1995: Bidwai, 1994). One should now differentiate between workers participation and mere workers involvement in decision making process in the workplaces as well as conceptualise employees' participation in their various workplaces.

1.16 Differentiating between workers participation and workers involvement in decision making process and conceptualisation of employee participation in organisation

Discussions of the concept of employee participation have in recent years dominated different discipline areas in the social sciences; most of these disciplines use the same terminology but the 'meaning and form that participation can take varies considerably depending on the discipline' (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2010). Scholars have been interested

in participation in politics and the issue of the real form of participation in the political management of the society (Pateman, 1970); some scholars study the relationship between participation and employee satisfaction at work (Blumberg, 1968); while others are interested in the link between participation and the notions of industrial citizenship (Clegg, 1960; Webb and Webb, 1902).

There is no doubt about the fact that the pioneering work at the Tavistock Institute (Heller *et al.*, 1998) or the Swedish experiments in work design (Berggren, 1993) opened a flood gate to other perspectives on the subject. Some of these perspectives include: the HRM perspective (Watson, 2005); the industrial relations perspective (Ackers and Wilkinson, 2008; Kaufman, 2004); the legal perspective (Fudge, 2008); the labour process and Marxist perspective (Collins, 1998); and the economic perspective (Coase, 1937; Simon, 1951). This study will limit itself to the HRM, IR, Political and the Economic perspectives.

Employee participation can also take various forms, these include direct employee participation (Dietz *et al.*, 2009; Dundon and Wilkinson, 2009); employee participation through collective bargaining (Appelbaum *et al.*, 2000; Berg *et al.*, 2004; Block, 2005); employee participation through the employer strategies towards non-union collective voice (Gollan, 2000, 2001, 2007, 2009; Lloyd, 2001; Dundon and Gollan, 2007; Terry, 1999); employee participation through workers directors and workers ownership/cooperatives (Musa *et al.*, 1997; Taylor, 1980; Knuden, 1995; Clegg, 1979; Kluge, 2005); employee participation through non-union forms of employee representation (Kaufman and Taras, 2000; Ozen, 1967; Gitelman, 1988); employee participation through the work councils: the European model (Biagi, 2001;

Sorge, 1976; Wood and Mahabir, 2001); and employee participation through share ownership or economic democracy (Poole, 1989; Poutsma, 2001; Poole and Jenkin, 1990). This study will concentrate on employee participation through collective bargaining which involves the trade unions.

It is important to make a clear distinction between workers' participation and workers' involvement in decision making processes because both concepts can be easily manipulated to demonstrate democratisation of the workplace (Emery and Thorsrud, 2003). The definitions of the two concepts by Hyman and Mason (1995) will go a long way in serving this purpose; they (1995) define workers' participation as the initiatives of the State in order to promote the collective rights of employees to be represented in organisational decision making, or to the results of the efforts of employees themselves to establish collective representation in the decision making process in the workplaces; this may be achieved despite employers' resistance. Workers involvement on the other hand, they (1995) later concluded, was initiated by management to inform workers of its decisions. Strauss and Rosenstein (2008: 198) suggest that when workers are involved in the decision making process 'beyond those normally subject to collective bargaining - including decisions relating to production' then one can conclude that there is real participation as it has gone beyond mere involvement.

Based on the above definitions and explanations, Hyman and Mason (1995) identify eight areas of differences: workers' participation is usually initiated and in some cases backed by legislations by the State or by the workforce through workers' representatives, while workers' involvement is usually initiated by management. The

aim of participation of workers in decision making processes is to harness workers' input through market regulation while the aim of workers' involvement in decision making is just to encourage individual worker's inputs through market regulation. Workers' participation is directed towards collective representation while workers' involvement is directed towards individual workers' responsibilities. Through workers' participation in decision making, management and organisation hierarchies chain of command are broken while workers involvement only flattens management and organisational structures leaving the hierarchies intact.

In workers' participation, workers' representatives are very active in decision making process while in workers' involvement workers and their union are passive and are only communicated information about decisions already made. Decision making is usually at the highest organisational levels in workers participation while in workers involvement decisions are only task-based. In workers' participation, there existed plurality of interests between workers and management: these interests are recognised and machineries are put in place to resolve such interests, while in workers' involvement it is usually assumed that a common interest exists between workers and management. Finally, workers' participation aims to distribute strategic influence beyond management while workers' involvement only aims to concentrate strategic influence among management as much as possible. The various forms, nature and context of industrial democracy will be discussed below.

1.17 Forms, nature and context of industrial democracy

Participation of workers in industries can be perceived as the involvement and influence of employees from different levels in the decision-making process which was traditionally the exclusive domain of managements of the various organisations (Clarke *et al.* 1972). Consultations by management cannot be equated with participation because, as Coates (1971:17) suggests, ‘even when employers do believe in “consultation” ---- all that this can ever mean is that they may seek employee’s opinions before they tell them what to do’.

Turner (1997:309) contends that what occurs in real life is ‘pseudo-participation’ and not real participation as management in most cases dictates and defines the issues to be referred to workers and their representatives for consideration and the solutions to these issues are preconceived by managements; while hiding under management prerogative. Participation becomes real when workers or through their representatives can express their opinions autonomously and freely in their negotiations, dialogues and relationships with management. Poole, (1986:16) insists that workers’ participation ‘is viewed as the principal means of obtaining greater control by workers over several aspects of their working lives and in so doing augmenting their power *vis-à-vis* that of management’.

Participation can therefore be measured through the organisational level of participation, the forms it takes and the matters brought for discussion by the management of a particular enterprise (Strauss and Rosenstein, 2008). The highest level of participation is experienced when workers participate in strategic economic decisions like methods of production, planning and control of production, investments

and distribution, whilst it is at the lowest if workers are allowed to be involved only in personnel and welfare decisions like hiring and firing, promotions, vacations and pensions (Blumberg, 1968; Strauss and Rosenstein, 2008).

Farnham (1997) suggests that workers participation is one of the four choices available to management in determining the appropriate industrial relations strategies which will include how work relations are ordered, how work is organised and what emphasis management should adopt in managing people at work. The other three choices are: workers subordination via managerial prerogative, union incorporation via collective bargaining and, workers commitment via employee involvement practices. Strauss and Rosenstein (2008) suggest that forms of worker participation vary from actual participation in decision making processes through management asking for advices from the union or just consulting the workers' representatives to just receiving information from the management.

Towers *et al.* (1987) identify three forms of participation. The first is the cosmetic participation: this is planned to only give an appearance of change: the power distribution and influence still remain as they were. The second is the distributive participation: this is deliberately designed to effect a change in the present power distribution and influence within an enterprise to favour employees, this change usually affects agreements and bargaining. The third is the corporative which assumes that there is a unique and shared view between workers and management of an enterprise. The main objective now is to seek for the involvement of all the employees in decision-making and to close the present communication gap between management and the rest of workers; it must be stated that power still remain undistributed.

On the other hand, Rugman and Hodgetts (2000) suggest that the three most popular forms of participation in the workplace are: codetermination, work council and shop floor participation. Co-determination: This is a form of participation which makes it legally binding for workers and managers to discuss all major and strategic decisions before they are implemented. This makes it mandatory for workers to be represented on boards of directors; codetermination is practised in Austria, Denmark, Germany, Holland and Sweden. Work council: in some cases as in Germany, Netherlands and Italy, workers hold one third of the seats on the board and up to 50% in private companies with about 2000 or more workers.

In some workplaces, the running of organisations are done by the workers' union while in some, the managers' representatives head the council: the councils are usually set up by the various governments or products of collective bargaining by workers and management. Lastly the shop floor participation: this usually takes many forms which include enrichment programmes, quality circles, and other various forms of participative management. In this form of participation, workers are provided opportunities to make their voices heard in playing a vital role in the decision making process.

This form of participative management is in use in the USA, some countries in Europe and most of the Scandinavian countries. Rugman and Hodgetts (2000) also observe that in most economically developed countries, industrial democracy is linked to political democracy. Berghahn and Karsten, (1987) suggest that industrial democracy in some cases look more like the Japanese paternalistic setting whereby the company is seen as a family set-up where the head of the family – management-

has an obligation to take care of the family members -the employees- and the family members too must contribute their efforts towards the survival of the family – the company.

Crispo (1978) identifies two distinctive approaches to industrial democracy in Western Europe: the first approach was the rise of managerialism – the resurrection of managerial prerogatives during the 1980s along with the dominance of HRM practices-. This approach only focussed on workers influence as regards involvements so as to be able to achieve certain organisational goals. Issues that are thought to be strategic – at least from the management perspective- are put forward by management as well as the organisational goals and values which workers are expected to be committed to.

Unfortunately workers were denied any influence over management decisions; the approach stresses workers involvement in decision making and not participation; the issues involved are usually those that were job and task-based rather than operational and strategic issues. The second approach viewed participation as workers right to question and influence decisions in an organisation to which the workers belong. This brought about formalised structures of participation and backed up by appropriate legislations and originated from the political democracy in the larger society; this approach is now prevalent in most Western European countries.

This thesis will line up with Rugman and Hodgetts (2000) by looking at the relationships between political democracy and industrial democracy; it will also look at the differences in the practice of industrial democracy between Cadbury (Nigeria)

Plc and Cadbury (UK) Plc. It is expected that because of differences in culture between Nigeria and the UK there will be a lot differences. It is expected that because of the fact that Britain has practiced political democracy for centuries, the practice of industrial democracy will be easier and because political democracy was only transferred to Nigeria some fifty years ago the practice of industrial democracy will be problematic (Yesufu, 1982). The end result of industrial democracy is directly or indirectly putting a new social contract in place which is discussed below.

1.18 Social Contract and participation

The emergence of a specific internal labour market is better understood as the coming of age of a special social contract in a firm or industry (Kochan and Osterman1994; Strauss and Rosenstein, 2008). The contract must be seen to be efficient and stable by the employers while it must take care of the interests of the employees for it to be acceptable to both parties (employers and employees) (Berghahn and Karsten, 1987). The three main points of view of this school are: human resources and training, employee participation in decisions-making, and public policy issues combined with the involvement of labour unions (Mizrahi, 2002).

Worker participation is now generally embraced by both management and workers as well as politicians even in the previously socialists countries like the former Yugoslavia but the main issue now is the extent of participation in terms of the issues that workers should participate in; this is because statistically there had been an increase in workers participation especially in Western European countries and the United States of America but not in strategic decision making areas (Kochan and Osterman1994; Strauss and Rosenstein, 2008,). Mizrahi (2002) argued that from

purely economic angle, there is no need to institutionalise the relations between employers and employees in a contract apart from that of an employment contract especially if the labour market is viewed as a buyer-seller market that will achieve an efficient equilibrium under the perfect market condition. Enterprises will hire based on their purpose and payment capability, while workers will look for the best enterprise based on their skills and wage expectations.

Unfortunately labour markets are ‘characterized by information asymmetries, control problems and training costs, which create imperfect competitions’ (Ibid, 2002: 696). There is therefore a need ‘for long term attachments between employers and employees’ (Ibid, 2002:696) or the development of what Dunlop (1966: 32) referred to as ‘internal labour markets’. With this situation there is a need for a new social contract between employees and employers coupled with the fact that the internal labour market also brought about skill specificity and the need to train on the job; this situation is what Doeringer and Piore, (1975) as well as Williamson *et al.* (1975) referred to as job idiosyncrasy. If all other socio-political and economic factors like economic stability, political stability, and technological development remain stable, the firm that incorporates workers in decision making in strategic areas of the business is likely to witness improved performance and a decrease in industrial strife in the workplace. Another form of social contract is economic democracy which will be discussed below.

1.19 Economic democracy: origin and development in the United Kingdom and Nigeria.

Poole and Jenkins (1990) suggest that economic democracy manifests in form of profit-sharing and employee-shareholding schemes in organisations, therefore it is a form of employee-participation. Poole (1989:1) suggests that profit-sharing and employee-shareholding schemes became popular in the late twentieth century. Economic democracy also changed the status of wage and salary earners and they became partners in organisations that employed them thereby eradicating the excessive concentration of wealth in the command of some few individuals; this may on the long-run destroy the capitalist system (Poole, 1989:1; Copeman *et al.*, 1984:15). Marx (1858:288) criticise the development of profit-sharing scheme and refused to accept that this will ever destroy the capitalist system, he saw profit sharing as ‘a special way of cheating the workers and of *deducting a part of their wages* in the more precarious form of a profit depending on the state of the business’.

The Webbs (1920) perceive profit-sharing and share-ownership schemes as basically opposed to the principles and practice of collective bargaining and trade unionism. The two schemes according to the Webbs (1920) will reduce labour mobility through which employees can bargain better with employers. The schemes will also destroy the “‘community of interests’ upon which successful collective bargaining ultimately depends” (Webbs, 1920 quoted in Poole, 1989:9). The Webbs (1920) conclude that as the profit sharing schemes were unilaterally imposed on workers by the employers, there is the possibility that the employees would not receive a significant allocation from their respective employers. According to Poole (1989:9) despite these criticisms there was a remarkable advancement of employee financial participation in the

nineteen century which could be linked to the following four conditions: (1) a 'philanthropic' outlook amongst certain employers; (2) economic buoyancy; (3) the rise of trade unions; and (4) industrial unrest.

The first 'wave' according to Poole (1989:9); Brannen, (1983) and Melling (1983:62) was between 1865 and 1873 when about twenty-five employers in the UK introduced profit-sharing and other forms of financial participations or what was then referred to as industrial partnership. This experiment was started by a colliery firm then known as Henry Briggs, Son & Co and by 1865 it was converted to a joint stock company when employees were invited to buy shares and by 1869 they were called upon to elect one of them (employees/shareholders) to become a director (Phelps-Brown, 1960:210). The 'philanthropic' managements could be said to be responsible for the emergence of profit-sharing and employee-shareholding schemes in the UK (Melling, 1983). Ramsay (1977:484) also attributed the favourable economic conditions, increase in trade union activities and frequent industrial disputes as factors that contributed to the spread of the schemes but the worsening trade conditions brought about the demise of the early experiments at Briggs, Son and Co.

The second 'wave' of the schemes came about between 1889 and 1892 when about eighty-eight schemes were initiated, this was primarily because of the structural changes in management which was brought about by the increase in the numbers of employers' associations (Melling, 1983:62). This period was during the economic buoyancy when increase in trade union activities brought about labour unrest (Poole, 1989). The third 'wave' of the schemes was after the First World War which came about because of the post-war boom, increase in trade union activities and extensive

industrial militancy while the fourth 'wave' was after the Second World War (Poole, 1989; Coleman *et al.*, 1984). For example in a survey carried out in 1954 by the British Ministry of Labour about 500 companies practiced some form of profit-sharing (Copeman, 1958). In recent times, the passage of the 1978 Finance Act brought about the schemes as it gave the scheme governmental as well as legislative support; while The Conservative government of 1979 improved the profit-sharing scheme in 1980, 1982 and 1983 (Poole, 1989:13-14).

Abell (1985:53-54) identified three 'international waves' or spread of economic democracy thus: Wave 1: 1915-55 which was characterised by the rise of statutory or voluntary works council in most market and planned economies. Wave 2 from 1920 onwards especially in 1945 which was characterised by the emergence of board – level co-determination which culminated in the EEC directive aimed at making such arrangements mandatory in all the member states of European Union. Wave 3 in the 1980's which was characterised by the extension of ownership rights to both management and labour.

Despite the international spread of economic democracy which commenced around 1915 in Britain and some parts of Western Europe nothing of such was heard of in Nigeria until 1972 when the then military government enacted the 'Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree (often referred to as the Indigenisation Decree)' (Donovan, 1974; Oguagu,1983). According to Bello (1972:7) the objectives of the Decree were as follows '(i) to create opportunities for the Nigerian indigenous businessman; (ii) to maximise local retention of profits; and (iii) to raise level of intermediate capital and goods production'. This Decree made it mandatory for

foreign enterprises to sell shares to their employees and that the enterprises should make loans available to the employees, in some cases some state governments bought the shares for their indigenes (Ekukinan, 1974:1). In 1972 Cadbury (Nigeria) Ltd (as Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc was then known) sold shares to their employees and also made loans available for this purpose (*Dokun Adediji, Head HR Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc*). The impact of profit-sharing and employee-shareholding or economic democracy schemes on employment/industrial relations will be discussed below.

1.20 Economic democracy and employment/industrial relations

Archer (1998:38) perceives economic democracy as ‘a system in which the basic units of economic activity, namely firms or enterprises, are governed according to the democratic principle.’ He (1998:68) suggests that in economic democracy the firms must operate in a market economy and individuals must be free and control of the firms ‘must pass out of the hands of the capitalists and into the hands of their workers’. He (1998:68) further identified ‘three actors or sets of actors’ relevant in an industrial (employment) relations systems as: “the capitalists (or ‘capital’), the workers (or ‘labour’) and the government”.

The capitalist and the workers are seen as relevant actors because both can affect the distribution of direct control. He (1998: 69) suggests that the capitalists ‘have the power to resist the redistribution of direct control because they currently exercise all or most of this control’, and more importantly ‘because firms are dependent on their ongoing investment’. He (1998:69) suggests that workers also have the power ‘to promote the redistribution of direct control because they can organise themselves into unions which can impose sanctions that hinder or stop production’. Individuals can

exercise control over an association from two distinct ways: by participating in its decision-making process which is regarded as a direct control, or the individuals can exercise control indirectly by 'setting constraints on the decisions that can emerge' (Archer, 1998:39).

He (1998:39) further suggested that '-----'. Those who are subject to the association's authority should exercise control directly' while '-----'. Those who are not subject to its authority should exercise control indirectly'. Dahl (1970:121) added that indirect control on firms can be classified into two subcategories: 'government regulation' and 'exit control'. Governments too can effect distribution and re-distribution of direct control through legislations as ownership and relations between 'employers and employees are regulated by a complex web of laws and incentives which legalize and promote certain distributions of power', these legislations can be changed. (Archer, 1998: 69)

The employment relationship in a capitalist economy is characterised by 'two class actors', the capitalist's employers who usually own the capital (Hirschman, 1970:4). The capitalist's may also delegate direct control to some managers who will be exercising direct control on their behalf, the other class are the workers who are employed by the capitalists on whom direct control are exercised (Archer, 1998). The 'two class actors' are 'composed of individual human actors who may be organised into a more or less cohesive unit'; class 'is an abstraction which divides people in such a way as to emphasize their relationship to employment and ownership'; individuals can also be divided 'into groups that emphasize other things that they hold in common, such as sex, race, nationality and income' (Archer, 1998: 68).

In a study carried out by Poole and Jenkins (1990:44) it was discovered that economic democracy in form of profit sharing and share ownership had a positive impact on industrial relations performance which partly manifested through reduction of strike propensity in the firms they studied. This is because they (1990:44) suggested that the main 'objective of profit sharing has of course been to reduce conflict between trade unions and management in the firm'. They (1990:44) also noted a 'positive relationship between the existence of trade unions in the firms and the presence of one or more of the various types of all – employee schemes for profit sharing and share-ownership'. They (1990:40-41) accepted that the relationship between economic democracy and strike activity is complex as other factors like management style and management approach might also contribute to a reduction in strike propensity.

They (1990:95) also suggested that economic democracy may improve industrial relations climate in firms and could also account for a reduction in labour turnover as workers might lose their shares if they leave the firms; again, they (1990: 96) also accepted that these relationships are complex as other factors might be involved. They (1990:51-53) further suggested that economic democracy may enhance organisational commitment of employees, employee involvement in decisions as well as their performances; again they (1990:51) warn that 'other factors (including those in the external environment of the firm) may well have a particular pervasive impact on financial and industrial relations performance'. They (1990:93) later concluded that '----. For upwards of a century, in countries with diverse cultures and political economies, the notion of economic democracy has been widely advocated and a variety of practices encompassed by this concept have been established'. Nigeria is no exception to this conclusion. This is because in 1972 through the 'Nigerian

Enterprises Promotion Decree (often referred to as the Indigenisation Decree)' a form of economic democracy was introduced (Oguagu, 1983).

Poole (1989:2) attempts a clear distinction between economic and industrial democracy because it is theoretically important to distinguish between both concepts. He (1989:2) therefore defined economic democracy as 'a variety of forms of employee participation in the ownership of enterprises and in the distribution of economic rewards' while he defined industrial democracy as 'workers participation in decision making and employee participation involvement in the processes of control within the firm'.

Poole (1989:2) concludes that there are diverse interconnections between both concepts; he therefore referred to both as 'organizational democracy.' Poole (1989:81) suggests that both economic and industrial democracy endeavour 'to foster a wide range of employee-participation practices designed to enhance commitment to the company'. This is because according to Ramsay and Haworth (1984) ownership has always been seen as a major key to control in enterprises and that the two forms of democracy in the workplace can exist together.

It must be stated that this thesis will look at the impact of political democracy on economic/industrial democracy; both concepts will be used synonymously as manifestations of participation in decision making in workplaces. This is because both phenomena (political and industrial/economic democracy) were introduced to the former British colonies without due considerations for differences in culture between the UK and the former colonies (Nigeria inclusive) as well as the differences in

culture between the ethnic groups merged together to become one country, Nigeria. Before the advent of the British colonial masters there were political arrangements/management systems in Nigeria and most former British colonies which were the monarchical political systems (Mafeje, 1971; Forde *et al*, 1967).

There was also an employment relations system in practice in Nigeria (and most former British colonies) before the advent of the British colonial masters; this was the Paternalistic employment relations system (Ubeku, 1993; Iwuji, 1968). The British type of political democracy (the parliamentary democratic system) was transferred to replace the various monarchical political systems between the various ethnic groups merged together to become one country while the British Voluntarists employment relations practice was transferred and made to replace the Paternalistic employment relations practice; both transfers were done without due considerations for the differences in culture between Britain and Nigeria on one hand, and differences in cultures of the ethnic group merged to become one Nigeria on the other hand (Yesufu, 1982).

1.21 Summary and conclusion

With industrialisation, the British Voluntarists employment relations practice and other related institutions (trade unionism, employers' associations, collective bargaining etc) were fully developed before the 20th century in the United Kingdom (Pollard, 1968). It was not an easy process especially with the economic problems brought about by the two world wars (Mantoux, 2006). Since the institutions – trade unionism for employees and employers' associations for employers- were well developed, the British Voluntarists employment relations practice therefore became

institutionalised (Allen, 1971). There had occurred more state interventions especially during economic crisis and there had been a decline in the membership of trade unions, yet the British employment relations practice is still comparatively 'Voluntarist' especially when compared with the situations in other developed countries like some parts of continental Europe which is more legalistic (Burawoy, 1983; Carruth and Disney, 1988).

The transfer of the British Voluntarist employment relations system to Nigeria was problematic because of the differences in culture between Great Britain and Nigeria on one hand and between the various ethnic groups merged together to become one country on the other hand. Economic/industrial democracy and other forms of participation of workers in decision-making process in their various workplaces have been well developed in the UK based on their culture before these were transfer to Nigeria (and other former British colonies); they were therefore expected to be problematic (Iwuyi, 1968).

Although, there was a time when the pre-colonial Nigerian like Paternalistic employment relations practice was in use in Great Britain, this was replaced with the advent of the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th century (Carruth and Disney, 1988). At the initial stage workers unions were not tolerated in the UK, later in 1871, the Trade Union Act allowed Registrar of Friendly Societies to register trade unions and provided a legal basis for the unions' activities (Ewing, 2005). This Act also protected their funds. Employers' associations were also developed and employment relations were now based on the interactions between institutions, including the state (Baskin, 1991).

Allen (1971) argues that the British trade union fitted neatly into the British capitalist system as they have accepted the capitalist norm of peaceful competition. The employers are now even competing against themselves to the benefit of the employees; the situation in Nigeria is different. In the UK, collective bargaining helps to institutionalise industrial conflict by: encouraging labour to work under certain guidelines without resulting to violence (Webbs, 1920). Employees have been persuaded to accept the ultimate need for a compromise and that a lot of gains can be made within the confines of the present system (Ewing, 2005). Moral pressures and persuasions like appeal to the national interests were also frequently used to reduce industrial conflict; lastly, workers can also be encouraged to accept the justice of the labour system and not disrupt it (Berghahn and Karsten, 1987).

In the UK economic/industrial democracy has gone through many stages from non-recognition of workers representatives, to just tolerating them and to accepting that they should only be carried along which is by informing them and finally to allowing participation on not very strategic decisions (Mantoux, 2006). The stage is now set for worker's representatives to be allowed to participate in more strategic decisions making processes especially the production processes. This is because workers are now seen not just as those who have their labour to sale but as an essential part of the running of the enterprise and failure to allow them to participate in the running of the enterprise will make it difficult if not impossible for the employers to achieve their main objective – profit maximisation (Webbs, 1920). The larger society too will not develop economically because of loss of man-hours due to industrial conflicts and the inability to produce and provide goods and services (Romer, 1998). Socially, as people will result to crimes and at best rely on benefits as in Britain if they become

unemployed this will invariably affect the political development (Eisenberg, P. and Lazarsfeld, 1938).

Chapter One has provided a review of the UK employment relations system and related considerations so as to provide a better understanding for the development of the Nigerian employment relations system. The chapter has also discussed the trends and development of British employment relations so as to demonstrate that the British Voluntarists employment relations practice was developed over a long period of time and with the interplay of British socio-cultural practices. It will no doubt be problematic to transfer such employment relations system to another area with different socio-cultural practices. A detailed review of the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system shall be presented in Chapter Two.

Chapter Two: Theories, trends and developments of employment relations practice in Nigeria

2.0 Introduction

The last chapter was devoted to the employment relations practice in the United Kingdom and some of the institutions that are closely related to it. This chapter traces the theories, trends and developments of employment relations practice in Nigeria from the pre-colonial and pre-industrial era through the colonial period, to the independent period and up till the present day. This chapter will look at the transfer of the British Voluntarist employment/industrial relations system to Nigeria as was practiced in Britain in the Post 1800 era (please see Chapter One). This is because the Post 1800 was the colonial era when the transfer of the British Voluntarist ERP. This chapter will specifically address **KRQ1, KRQ2, SRQ3, and SR4**

The institutions created for the smooth running of the practice will also be discussed; as well as the impact of the introduction of wage employment on the transfer of the British Voluntarist ERP to Nigeria. The activities of the Royal Niger Company (RNC), the first real multinational enterprise in Nigeria and the contributions of the company towards the introduction and the transfer of the British Voluntarist ERP will be discussed; this will be discussed from the perspectives of **KRQ2**. The consequences of the failed political democracy which was expected to be the breeding ground for industrial/economic democracy as introduced by the British colonial masters will also be discussed; this will be discussed with **SRQ3** in mind. Finally, this chapter will look at the attempts made to manage the crisis left behind by the British colonial masters after independence and how this attempt further created other serious employment relations crisis; this will be discussed with **SRQ4** in mind.

2.1 Employment relations practice in Nigeria: pre-colonial era

There was in existence an employer-employee relationship in Nigeria before the colonial era based on the predominantly agricultural economy, culture and traditions which were the basis for systems of work and reward (Ubeku, 1993). In most cases the employer was the family head while the employees were members of his immediate family and the extended family (Yesufu, 1982). In some areas farming was carried out on a cooperative basis; people of the same age organised to work for themselves in turns (Iwuji, 1968). On such occasions, remuneration was mainly through exchange of food and drinks as the economy was rural with no acceptable monetary currency or probably to reciprocate good gestures by working on another person's farm when required, or at the extreme end by providing security in case of an invasion of the friend's farm or household by an enemy and in some cases as part of the dowry for a very beautiful fiancée (Ibid, 1968).

In some cases commodities were exchanged for goods and services; this was referred to as barter trade (Ofonagoro, 1979). There was therefore no wage employment; in the case of a large farm or plantations the services of slaves were employed and this was integrated into the social and political systems (Lovejoy, 1974). The employer/family head was at his discretion all-in-all as he determined the reward system, recruitments, selections, promotions, which are not necessarily based on merit or seniority; he provided food, housing and security for all the employees (mostly family members) and even determined when they would get married and to whom (Iwuji, 1968). When the Obas, Chiefs, Obis and Emirs were appointed as the recruitment agents by the colonial masters, the family heads usually sent the troublesome sons or children of less favoured wives some of whom later became educated and joined wage

employment (Northrup, 1978). This system of employment relations practice was referred to as the Paternalistic ERP (Ubeku, 1993).

2.2 History of wage employment in Nigeria

Wage employment which brought in the British Voluntarist ERP started with the advent of the British colonialists –Mungo Park and his team- on 20 July 1795 as they required the services of guides, and carriers when they stepped into the territory now known as Nigeria (Park, 1905). Mungo Park ‘employed’ two guides - Amadi and Isaac- whom he paid wages for their services, as was and still is the employment relations practice in the UK (Bovill, 1967). Unfortunately, as at that time wage employment was generally not known in the areas to be later known as Nigeria, and Mungo Park was unaware of the implications of what he did; he unknowingly started the introduction of the British Voluntarists ERP (Abdulahi, 1991).

One major setback to wage employment was the lack of standardised or universally accepted currency as the silver coins were not introduced until 1872 (Iwuyi, 1968). In 1912, the British pounds, shillings and pence were introduced to all the former British colonies in West Africa including Nigeria through the West African Currency Board and on 1 July 1959, the Central Bank of Nigeria issued the Nigerian currency notes while the West African Currency Board’s notes and coins were withdrawn (Nwankwo, 1980). On 1 July 1962 the legal tender status was changed to reflect the country’s new status as an independent country, the currency notes were changed in 1968 as a war strategy as the breakaway Biafrans – the Ibos of the then South Eastern Region-, were misusing the country’s currency notes. Finally on 1 January 1973, the major currency unit called ‘Naira’ was introduced and replaced the British -£-

Pounds, while the Nigerian Kobo-k- replaced the British Shillings (Ofonagoro, 1979; Nwankwo, 1980).

Before the introduction of the bar, the cowry's shells and the manilla, trading was by barter - using commodities as means of exchange for goods and services - These currencies could not be said to be universally acceptable as they all had fluctuating values depending on the areas the transactions were taking place and the time of the year; was it during rainy season when not much of farming was done or during harvest when farmers were busy (Dike, 1885)?

At the initial stage of wage employment, labour recruitments were done through the Chief's, Emirs and the Obi's, they acted as the recruitment agents or third party; they in most cases used slaves, their children -the troublesome ones or children of less favoured wives (Falola, 1984). Wage employment was then seen as degrading; as working for another man other than a biological relative was only done by slaves (Iwuyi, 1980). The discipline involved in wage employment was not something the workers were used to as only the lowest category of slaves - those captured during the various inter-tribal wars -; followed by those slaves whose parents were owing money and could not pay in time or could not pay at all- were disciplined at work (Ubeku, 1993).

In this new dispensation, workers had to report to work at a certain time, they could only go to eat at a certain time and could only close at a certain time; this was seen as the lowest degree of slavery (Hill, 1976; Yesufu, 1982). The situation was made worst as they were fined for lateness and unauthorised absence from work: the fine was

deducted from their meagre salaries at the end of the month, the fines varied in amount, but half a day's pay was commonplace in the civil service (Yesufu, 1967). Coupled with the above was the fact that wage employment involved working away from one's home which most natives were not used to; again only slaves worked away from their homes (Hallett, 2004).

Wage employment came into prominence fully in the colonial Nigeria after 1830 when Richard and John Lander - another set of explorers from the UK, that took over from Mungo Park who was unable to complete his second expedition of tracing the source of River Niger due to his death around 1859 - were able to finally solve the mystery of the River Niger (Iwuyi, 1980; Yesufu 1982). This was an invitation for the British traders and some Christian missionaries (and in some cases they combined the role of traders with that of missionaries) to penetrate the hinterland and commence trading especially in Nigerian products; the chief of which was palm oil (Ubeku, 1993). The shrewd Liverpool trader, Macgregor was said to have led a host of other British traders into the lucrative trade of palm oil; Dike (1835) reports that in the 1830s the price of palm oil varied from £33 to £34 and that in 1834 the trade was worth £450,185.

This trade dominated the socio-political and economic activities of the country for over 50 years when the ambitions of European merchants and the Nigerian middlemen made sure that palm oil dominated the politics in the Niger Delta; about 2500 Europeans and Africans -not only Nigerians- were employed by the trade in 1871; ironically crude oil and natural gas dominate the politics of this same area today (Bradley, 1983; Cohen, 2004). The sudden boom in the trade of palm oil led to some

competitions for labour and the major recruitment centres were Lagos, Calabar and the Niger Delta (Dike, 1935). These recruits were mostly school leavers including those who were unwilling to complete their primary or secondary school education as the temptation of wage employment was too much for them to resist while still in school (Yesufu, 1982). The demands for labour by both the palm oil traders, the British traders and the Christian missionaries who required guides and carriers pushed up wages that were enough to make some students abandon their studies; coupled with the prestige involved in working for the expatriates (Dike, 1935). The shortage of labour was so acute that the palm oil traders, the British traders and the Christian missionaries as well as the British government officials- had to resort to neighbouring countries like Ghana (then Gold Coast), Liberia and Sierra Leone for their supply of manual labour which was called 'Kroo' Labour (Martin, 1988).

Wage employment took a new dimension when the Royal Niger Company (RNC) was handed the absolute power to trade and administer the country (Ukpabi, 1987). The company became the first multinational company (MNC) to be granted powers to trade and to rule the country with legislative, military and judicial powers (Ibid, 1987). The Royal Charter of July 1886 gave the company powers to administer, make treaties, levy customs dues and trade in all territories in the basin of the (River) Niger and its affluents (Flint, 1960). This went on till January 1 1900 when it became apparent that a chartered company would be unable to hold its own against the state-supported protectorates of France and Germany (Burns and Burns, 1973). In effect Royal Niger Company transferred its territories to the British Government for the sum of £865,000 (Interest, 1975). Ibid (1975) confirms that twenty-five years earlier only few people were engaged in wage employment in Lagos as a result of the cession of

Lagos and the setting up of an administration mainly to govern the Lagos colonial territory. He (1975) also confirms that the civil service was also recruiting and offering wage employment.

Wage employment was further made popular when for economic, political and strategic reasons the Royal Charter of the Royal Niger Company was revoked and the administrations of the Protectorates of the Northern, the Southern Protectorates and the Colony of Lagos were taken away from a multinational company –Royal Niger Company- towards the end of 1899 and was vested directly in the hands of the British Government with effect from 1 January 1900 (Cook, 1943). This led to a lot of construction works (Burns and Burns, 1973; Flint, 1960). For example, the Lagos railways were financed from the British treasury while at the same time the construction of the telegraph lines were going on (Yesufu, 1982).

He (1982) confirms that the daily wage then was about 9d for workers from Lagos and 1s for those from the hinterlands with the additional 3b as subsistence allowance. The ‘headmen’ – the very strong natives who were carrying the expatriates on their heads, as there were no cars - were paid 1s.3d and 5s for the privilege of carrying a very senior government officials like the Residence Administrator (Ukpabi 1966). Payments were in Sterling since silver coins had started circulating in Nigeria, the Sterling was lighter in weight, and not subjected to fluctuations unlike the former currencies (Yesufu, 1982). The silver coins started circulation in 1872 and the new administration showed preference to it; £6,675,514 was imported to the British colonies, out of which in 1872 Nigeria accounted for 38%; the circulation of silver

coins was stopped in 1912 when the West African Currency Board was inaugurated (Mars, 1980; Nwankwo, 1980).

Other sources of wage employment were in the mines like the tin ore mine in Jos, the Cameroon plantations and the harbours across the country and in the Cameroon. The mines needed a lot of people and government had to compulsorily recruit people and by 31 March 1943, between 25,000 and 30,000 people were already compulsorily recruited (Yesufu, 1982). The recruits were enticed with a balanced diet, good housing, and provisions of medical facilities; as a result between 40% and 60% of those compulsorily recruited opted after six months to willingly continue in wage employment (Ananaba, 1969).

The introduction of taxes for the adult male of the population forced more people to join wage employment, while the British Colonial Government also introduced incentives such as free medical facilities coupled with living in clean environments and eating of balanced diets like tea/coffee, bread and eggs otherwise referred as 'oyinbo's food' (white man's food); these attracted more people into wage employment (Yesufu, 1982:89). The tastes of these wage earners also changed with the exposure to life in urban areas and with the contacts with the Europeans, they now wear imported clothes and purchased nylon clothes for their wives; the only way to satisfy these new tastes was to pick up a permanent wage employment, which also became a status symbol (Yesufu, 1967).

Since the silver coins were already in circulation, this enhanced the chances of payments of wages and made wage employment very attractive; this marked the

formal beginning of the importation of the British Voluntarist system of employment/industrial relations practice to Nigeria (Yesufu, 1982; Ananaba, 1969). The British Voluntarist employment relations practice (ERP) worked effectively with payment of wages for labour; the British ERP worked unhindered and gradually replaced the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations practice (Onwuka, 1982).

After the abrogation of the Royal Niger Company in 1899 which led to the direct British Government take over of the governance of the Lagos Colony, Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1900, the hinterlands were opened up mainly to provide markets for the British manufactured goods and to easily reach sources of raw materials for the British factories and politically to make administration of the vast territory easy (Perlman, 1937). There was also an urgent need for massive constructions of network of roads and railway lines to link the Lagos Colony with the Southern and Northern Protectorate; this brought about more wage earners (Aina, 1995).

The two World Wars also aided wage employments as over 4000 Nigerian troops and 250 naval ratings were recruited in 1914 (Afigbo, 1991). This was because the colonial government decreed that all bondsmen who enlisted in the army or volunteered for employment in the civil service must be freed from their various bonds (Yesufu, 1982). At the end of the war the soldiers trained in various trades like telephonists, tailors and storekeepers opted for wage employment; about 120,000 soldiers were demobilised and two thirds of them were said to have opted for wage employment (Onimode, 1981; Shenton and Freund, 1978). With the increasing importance of wage employment, the increasing opportunities and the social

acceptance of paid employment, the natives who found cocoa or palm kernels farming tedious and not paying as much as wage employment, were glad to go and work for a few months especially during the dry season for regular wages which enabled them to save some money (Ubeku, 1993; Yesufu, 1982).

The colonial administrators had a lot of problems introducing wage employment in Nigeria yet it very necessary for them to bring in as many people as possible to wage employment as this would give the natives the earning power to buy the excess manufactured goods mostly from the UK as well as be able to pay taxes; part of which would be used to construct more roads and other communications infrastructures necessary for administering the vast territory (Doyle, 1983). The natives were still reluctant to embrace wage employment on full-time basis or as a career as the British colonial administrators would have preferred (Perham, 1937). This was surprising to the colonial masters as they thought that with the abolition of slave trade people should willingly come forward for wage employment (Doyle, 1983).

Luggard (1909) was quoted to have said that the outrageous rates of pay which were instituted for local labour of all kinds became one of the two most serious problems facing the administration. He (1909) was of the opinion that the rates for the so-called skilled labour, - clerks, artisans, engineers and pilots - were 50 percent higher than what they should have been; the Indians who were considered to be more efficient earned less than their Nigerian counterparts. On the expenditures on carriers and unskilled labour, the Governor General in frustration concluded that: ‘-----’. I hope largely to reduce (labour costs) by the introduction of wheeled traffic and motor cars’ (Luggard, HMSO, 1909:129-130).

He was very optimistic that with the introduction of motor cars the government wage expenditure would be drastically reduced (Luggard, HMSO, 1909: 175). Unfortunately to the surprise of the colonial government officials, more of the natives were returning to farming rather than to wage employment, which was an indication that people still preferred farming to the government's wage employment (Yesufu, 1982; Iwuji, 1968). This made the Governor General to conclude some years later that there was a notable exodus from the towns where the wage employment was in abundance into rural districts to be engaged in farming (Luggard, HMSO, 1915).

To solve this shortage of manpower the colonial masters resulted into recruiting from areas they had colonised earlier than Nigeria – places like Sierra Leone and Ghana (Gold coast) - this solution brought about its own problems like transportation and language problems; as times went on, the alternative was to resort to forced labour using the Chiefs (Ubeku, 1993). Lord Luggard tried to justify this practice by saying that 'among primitive tribes, a measure of compulsion through their tribal Chiefs in order to obtain labour construction and other important works is justifiable as an educative process to remove fear and suspicion' (Luggard, HMSO, 1919: 201).

As far as he was concerned colonial government's forced labour was better; in that government paid higher and adequate wages in addition to regular payments; which were not guaranteed in the case of the Chiefs' forced labour (Yesufu, 1982). This produced the desired effect as he (Lord Luggard) later said in his '*Political Memoranda*' that 'the Government rule that every labourer must be paid up fully in cash, at short intervals, and without the intermediary of any middle man or Chief, has done more than anything else to popularize the system of labour -wage employment-

and to create a free labour market' (Luggard, HMSO, 1912: 289-90). This was not all the advantage, as it also provided markets for the manufactured goods from Britain and further widened the tastes of the natives for manufactured goods like shoes, plates, radios and metal pots; which prompted more need for wage employment and probably as a full time job (Ubeku, 1993).

By 1918 the problem of labour shortage was over as there was a surplus of labour and the law of supply and demand forced down the price of labour - wages- so that even African landowners could now hire some natives (Yesufu, 1982). This made Governor-General Luggard to conclude in 1919 that: 'in the quick appreciation by the African of the amenities of life which he can procure for cash and his natural aptitude for work the natives are now happy to work and get paid' (Luggard, HMSO, 1919: 250). There was therefore no more need for the use of forced labour; it was then time for government to discourage the practice until the start of the economic depression of 1930 (Iwuji, 1968).

In 1930, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) adopted the Forced Labour Convention by which forced labour was declared illegal; by 1933 the Nigerian Government through the Forced Labour Ordinance (No 22 of 1933) implemented the provision of the Convention. It must be said that forced labour still continued in the rural areas as the Chiefs were by law -Native Law and Customs- allowed to still use forced labour; the Colonial Administrative officers could then request the Chiefs to supply them with workers (Yesufu, 1982). All forms of forced labour were abolished in Nigeria through the 1956 Labour Code (Amendment) Ordinance, No. 3 of 1956. The acceptance of wage employment by the natives coupled with the economic

depression of 1930 which created surplus of labour made the Government and other employers to reduce their labour intakes and this led to unemployment (Afigbo, 1972).

In a study carried out by Yesufu (1958:70-72) at the mechanical workshop of the Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC) in Ebute-Metta, Lagos and the mills of African Timber and Plywood, Sapele to find out why people opted for wage employment, the result showed that there were some educated men who saw farming as 'a mean occupation', 'too difficult', and 'does not pay'. The British colonialists made farming to be less attractive, this was the same job their (the natives) fathers did and probably they too were formerly engaged in, now it is 'a mean occupation' now it is 'too difficult' and now 'it does not pay' just because there was an alternative in wage employment.

The study also revealed that some workers joined wage employment because of the need to satisfy their tastes for modern amenities, goods and luxuries such as bicycles, gramophones, use of electricity, going into cinemas and buying nylon clothes for their wives. Acquiring some of the amenities mentioned above was seen as a status symbol and an indication that they, the natives were now modernised, more civilised, and have 'arrived'. Some workers left home because they were hunted by witchcraft and the Chiefs were victimising their families. One may ask if this was a new dimension. The answer is NO, but there was the attraction in wage employment that was irresistible. Some workers claimed to have come to save some money for the dowry of their proposed wives. The question to be asked is, was dowry not paid before the

availability of wage employment in the cities? Some left because the peers group had left; this was sensible to some extent.

Yesufu, (1982) concludes that the respect showered on workers from the cities by their friends and family members in the villages whenever they went home for festivals like new yam and 'egungun' was another good reason for moving out of the unpredictable farming harvests in the villages to the cities in search of wage employment. Farming was then left in the hands of the very old people who were too old to take up wage employment in the cities. This later led to the importation of food from the United Kingdom; while the factories and the economy of the United Kingdom were growing that of Nigeria (and most of the former British colonies) was going down (Yesufu, 1976).

The Royal Commission on Labour in India, (HMSO, 1931: 14), summarises part of the argument for wage employment thus: '--- a refuge to those who are anxious to escape from the more severe penalties with which the villages visits offences against its social and moral codes'. The British type of justice with emphasis on the guarantee of human rights and freedom of speech was introduced in Nigeria (and most of the former British colonies) but for logistics reasons this was only available in the cities and not in the villages where the traditional justice system with no respect for the rule of law was still widely in use; this also contributed to the movement to the cities for wage employment (Ibhawoh, 2007).

There are now about five or six generations of Nigerians born and raised in the cities or the urban areas as at today, 2010; they do not have the slightest feel of village life

as they were educated in towns and cities; they joined wage employment that are only available in the towns and cities; and not aware of how village life looked (Iwuji, 1968). The new problem facing the country now is that of unemployment especially in the cities and all the social problems associated with it; in 1974 at the peak of the growth of the Nigerian economy, the unemployment rate was about 4.5% while the growth rate in the economy was above 9% (Yesufu, 1982).

At this stage, it is convenient to suggest that wage employment has come to stay in Nigeria, it is seriously and rapidly gaining more grounds as a major factor in the labour market, and that the British Voluntarist employment/industrial relations practice has totally replaced the Nigerian Paternalistic employment/industrial relations practice (Iwuji, 1968). This transfer or introduction was without any consideration for the differences in socio- cultural realities of Britain and Nigeria as well as the differences in the socio- cultural realities of all the ethnic groups merged together through the Amalgamation Act of 1900. The transfer was done mainly for economic/ commercial and logistic considerations. The institutions that developed with the British Voluntarist employment relations system also had to be developed in Nigeria to make for an effective running of the practice; trade union is one of such institutions and will be discussed soon.

2.3 Trade Unions and trade unionism in Nigeria.

Prior to the coming of the colonial masters, organisations of people engaged in craft or trade have existed in Nigeria; these organisations could be referred to as trade unions because they were organised to regulate trade practices, to offer mutual aid and to fix prices –wages- for their services; such organisations included organisations of

hunters, blacksmiths, carvers and weavers (Egboh, 1968; Ananaba, 1970). These organisations consisted of tradesmen and their children or other blood relatives - usually sons-, there were no employment contracts as known today as the children learned the trades and took over from their fathers (Fashoyin, 1980). The functions of these organisations some of which still existed today in the villages, included: settling of disputes, regulation of relationship between tradesmen, fixing of prices and organising the payment of tribute to the Oba – the King- (Lloyd, 1953).

Organised trade unions officially started on Monday 19 August 1912 in Nigeria when workers in the then civil service organised themselves into trade unions as was done in Sierra Leone (Egboh, 1968). One Mr Henry Libert – a Sierra Leonean- summoned a meeting of about thirty-three indigenous workers, and by the fifth meeting on 15 November 1912 after advice was received from Sierra Leone, the aim of the union was decided and this was to promote the welfare and interests of the indigenous workers of the Nigerian Civil Service (Okonkwo, 1993). It was known then as the Civil Service British Workers Union but later changed to the Nigerian Civil Service Union shortly before independent (Yesufu, 1982; Smock, 1969).

It remained an exclusive union of Africans 1st class workers until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. This brought about an astronomical rise in cost of living and the union had to seek the support of other workers outside the 1st class cadre to agitate for 30% increase in basic salaries as the war bonus which was granted by the colonial administrators (Ananaba, 1970). The union later discussed other grievances which included: discrimination in salary scale in favour of Europeans against African

workers performing same jobs, and abolition of the 'frequent imposition of fines as a measure of discipline' (Yesufu, 1982,: 96).

In 1931, the Railway Workers Union and the Nigeria Union of Teachers were formed; before this time railway workers were under the Nigerian Civil Service Union (Egboh, 1968). The 1930 economic crisis aided the coming out of the then Mechanic Union out of the Nigerian Civil Service Union; although the former claimed to embrace all employees of the railway; the clerical workers chose to remain with the later (Yesufu, 1982). With the passing of the Nigerian Trade Union Ordinance in 1938, the numbers of registered trade unions as well as memberships increased; for example, in 1940 only 14 unions were registered with 4,629 members but by 1944 this had increased to 91 registered unions with over thirty thousand members (Nigeria Department of Labour Annual Reports, 1945).

By 1975, under the military regime of General Murtala Muhamed one thousand trade unions were registered (Fashoyin, 1980). That same year, his government established a Commission of Enquiry to look into the past activities of the unions. Administrators were appointed to manage the unions as the unions were polarised and ideologically divided therefore creating labour problems for the country (Ibid, 1980; Fashoyin, 1980). The unions were restructured into 42 along industrial lines and a Labour centre was created (Nigerian Federal Ministry of Labour and Productivity, 1976 vol.21). The Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) was created in 1978 and the 42 industrial unions became affiliates (Northrup, 1978). This was given a legal backing through the Nigerian Trade Union Decree of 1975. In 1978, the trade union was restructured again with 29 industrial unions affiliated to NLC through the Trade Union (Amendment)

Decree 22 of 1978. While the workers were multiplying and their unions on increase, a new development came up in 1960; this was the urgent need for a different union for the senior staff. This is discussed below.

2.4 Development of senior staff and management associations in Nigeria

Before the attainments of independence in 1960 and republic status in 1963 most senior staffs were Europeans and there were very few Nigerians in this category they were therefore unable to form trade unions (Yesufu, 1982). Their European counterparts had formed a union known as the Association of European Civil Servants as far back as 1919 (Egboh, 1968). Associations of Nigerian Senior Staff came to limelight in the civil service in 1960 and in the private sectors in 1971 (Ananaba, 1970). The development of management unions came as soon as the Europeans left and the Nigerian managers started agitating for salaries and conditions of service as enjoyed by their former European counterparts (Balogun, 1972)

In 1974, the Nigeria Employers' Consultative Association (NECA) discovered what it felt was 'a major concern' by some trade unions in the Banking sector. This 'major concern' was that there were attempts by some people 'to bring together under one body separate unions of management junior staff' and that they – NECA- 'had made representations to the Federal Ministry of Labour on this phenomenon which we consider to be undesirable' (NECA: Report of year ended 31 December, 1974,: 8 & 9). Unfortunately for NECA in the same year 1974, the Federal Commissioner (now known as Minister) for Labour confirmed the award of the Industrial Arbitration Tribunal in the trade dispute between the Bacita Allied Sugar Factory and Industrial Workers' Union and the management of Nigerian Sugar Company Limited.

The award was that ‘members of the supervisory staff be debarred from joining the Union of the rank who are supervised by them’. The award went on: ‘----. This does not prejudice their liberty to form a Union of Supervisory Staff to protect their own interest’ (NECA: Report of year ended 31 December, 1974,: 8 & 9). With this victory by 1976 there were about twenty-four senior staff associations registered as trade unions with a membership of 5,383 (Nigeria Ministry of Labour: *Records of Trade Unions as at January 1976* :21-22). This development clearly carved out a different union or association for Nigerian senior staff. The role of the various Nigerian governments in the development of the Nigerian employment relations practice will now be discussed.

2.5 The State and employment relations practice in Nigeria

The intervention of various Nigerian governments (military and civilians), in the employment relations practice was inherited from the British colonial government (Fashoyin, 1980; Yesufu, 1982). Before independence the various colonial governments in Africa intervened in employment relations practice in order to implement labour policies already tested in their countries, these interventions were justified as a way of civilising the people of these colonies (Northrup, 1978).

According to (Yesufu, 1982: 36-38) the British colonial government interventions could be divided into phases: the first phase was the 1900–1920 era when the main labour problem was about how to create and maintain ‘from among the peasantry an adequate fund and supply of free labour to meet the demands of (colonial) government administration’; the second phase was from the 1921 -1928 era, this was the period of the evolution of trade unions in Nigeria; the third phase, 1929-1938

started with the appointment of Lord Passfield – Sydney Webb- as the Colonial Secretary in the first Labour Government. He (Lord Passfield) initiated moves to compel the colonial government in Nigeria and other former British colonies ‘to initiate, long-term labour and industrial (employment) relations policies, legislation and practice, on lines of those prevailing in the United Kingdom’; the last phase was during the Second World War period – 1939-1945- which was marked with the establishment of a Labour Inspectorate and later a Department of Labour and the removal of the restrictive legislations on trade union activities.

By the 1950s the various Regional Governments had started making offers of wage increases so as to attract votes and the Federal Government of Nigeria had started introducing some elements of economic/industrial democracy – employers and trade unions started to negotiate- as practised in the United Kingdom, but the Federal Government of Nigeria reserved the right to intervene where wages were ‘unreasonably low by reference to the general level of wages’ (Department of Labour, Nigeria: *Annual Report 1954/55*, paragraph 20). This situation continued until independent in 1960 and even till the military coup of 1966 which led to the civil war of 1967-1970. The military regimes either banned trade unionism or imprisoned the trade union leaders and this was easy as the Constitution of the country was usually suspended as soon as they –the military- take over government (Yesufu, 1982). Further military interventions will be discussed later in this chapter (Please see 2.8). In the meantime, the activities of the employers’ association, NECA will be discussed below.

2.6 Employers' association in Nigeria

With the promulgation of the Nigerian Trade Union Act of 1938, employers of labour were accorded same rights and privileges of organisation and registration as the organisations of employees, although Nigerian and expatriate employers organise separately (Egboh, 1968). In the 1950s when the various Regional Governments were offering increases in wages partially to alleviate workers' suffering and more importantly to get votes, employers in the private sector were hard hit as their workers were asking for similar increases in salaries as their counterparts in the civil service (Ananaba, 1970). This led to the coming together of all employers; both Nigerians and expatriates, it was therefore no surprise at the inauguration when twenty - eight members companies were represented which included: UAC and Shell-BP (Cohen, 1974).

The Nigeria Employers' Consultative Association (NECA) was only formed in 1957 as there was no urgent need for it as mentioned earlier and coupled with the fact that the British colonial masters did not really encourage manufacturing as this might compete with the home manufacturing concerns (Egboh, 1968). It was formed to provide the forum through which government will consult with the private sector on socioeconomic and labour issues (Kilby, 1967). NECA claimed not to be a trade union, but a dynamic and highly respected professional body registered under the Company and Allied Matters Act 1990. The mission of NECA is to contribute to the process of creation of national wealth through enterprise competitiveness, promotion of enabling environment, through industrial harmony (NECA: *An introduction to NECA*: 2).

The primary function of NECA is to protect employers' interest and to enthrone the private sector as a dependable and a reliable engine of socio and economic development. This primary function is achieved by: influencing economic agenda and policies through public advocacy and group representation to government on issues of interest to government; by creating the forum for employers to consult and dialogue amongst themselves on issues of interest to them; providing the opportunity for employers to share information and create linkages that will enhance the growth of their businesses; to defend and promote, at all times and in all places, the legitimate rights of member companies; to provide on-hand assistance to Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs) and to provide other consultancy services to meet members specific needs (NECA: *Employers Digest* January – March, 2009).

NECA is the voice of Nigerian employers in the following national labour organisations: National Labour Advisory Council, National Pension Commission, Nigeria Social Insurance Trust Fund, Industrial Training Fund, National Planning Commission, National Health Insurance Scheme, National Productivity Council, National Directorate of Employment, Trustfund Pensions Plc and Industrial Arbitration Panel. NECA is also the voice of Nigerian employers in the following international organisations: International Labour Organisation (ILO) International Organisation of Employers (IOE), Pan African Employer Confederation (PEC) and Federation of West African Employers (FOPAO) - (NECA Rules and Constitutions).

It must be said that NECA is professionally organised with experienced people engaged especially in labour related matters; some of the retired ministers and retired directors in the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Labour are involved one way or the other

with the organisation; if they are not permanent staffs, they will be consultants. One could not see how the labour union executives interviewed in the process of this study could be a match to these NECA employees. Coupled with the various interventions of military in Nigerian politics, the trade union is usually seen as an opposition which must be silenced at all cost even if it involves banning trade unionism or imprisoning the labour union leaders, but NECA is always going along with the government of the day; military or civilian and therefore always left intact (Ananaba, 1970). The process of coming together of all the institutions – trade unions, employers’ associations and the State agencies- involved in employment relations practice is referred to as collective bargaining which will be discussed below.

2.7 Collective bargaining in Nigeria: historical perspective

Collective bargaining is at the centre of the British Voluntarist ERP and it is also regarded as the only effective means of protecting workers’ interest as well as the most effective means of preventing and settling of industrial dispute (Webbs, 1902). Unfortunately, it is a very recent phenomenon in Nigeria (Fashoyin, 1980). Before its emergence, the most common technique of bargaining was the company-based bargaining pattern; negotiations between employers and house unions; this was followed recently by the industrial-based bargaining pattern – negotiations between industrial employers’ associations and the industrial trade unions (Oribabor, 1984).

Before the promulgation of the two Nigerian Trade Disputes (Emergency Provisions) Decrees, Nos.21 and 53 of 1968 and 1969 respectively, the system of Nigeria’s collective bargaining was essentially unregulated by law despite the fact that as far back as 1938 the Trade Union Ordinance of 1938 gave legal recognition to trade

unionism (Egboh, 1968). From 1938 to the mid-1960s, the Nigerian system of collective bargaining was clearly characterised by a reliance on the principle of the British Voluntarist employment relations practice (Fashoyin, 1980). The legal recognition granted to trade unionism in 1938 immediately led to the proliferation of trade unions (Egboh, 1968). In 1940 just two years after the enactment of the Ordinance only 14 trade unions were registered with about 4,629 members, but by 1971 the number of trade unions rose to 732 with over 70,000 members (Fashoyin, 1987).

Another major feature of the British Voluntarism employment relations practice introduced to Nigeria was the establishment of a voluntary system of bargaining for the peaceful adjustment of industrial dispute (Flanders, 1974). As far back as 1941, the Trade Disputes (Arbitration and Inquiry Ordinance of 1941) made provisions for the conciliation and arbitration services, although there were no provisions for compulsion on the parties to adopt any specific procedure in the bargaining relations (Yesufu, 1982). The parties were left to bargain using the available power of persuasion, conciliation and arbitration, strikes, lockouts or other advisory procedures, unfortunately the outcomes of such bargainings were not legally binding on the parties (Otobo, 1987).

The employers preferred to resort to individuality and autonomy while bargaining with workers as there was no officially recognised single body of the employers' as the Nigeria Employers' Consultative Association (NECA) was only formed in 1957 (Fashoyin, 1980). As the house unions were weak, managed by uneducated, inexperienced trade union executive, they were inefficient, the employers were having

their ways and were not compelled to form an association since they – the employers - were able to manipulate the unions to their – employers’ - advantage (Beckham, 2002). To make the British Voluntarist employment relations system workable in Nigeria, special administrative agencies or commissions were established solely to deal with employment relations matters as far back as 1948; one of such was the Whitley Councils and the Joint Industrial Councils as well as the 1955 government official policy on collective bargaining (Yesufu, 1967).

The coming of the military made the intervention of government in the Nigerian employment/industrial relations practice more frequent (Fashoyin, 1980). The military was very suspicious of the trade union leaders as the unions can be easily turned into a pressure group to agitate for a return to democratic governance and the politicians too can easily manipulate the trade union leaders as was done during the colonial era (Egboh, 1968). The most vocal and experienced labour leaders were banned for life by the military dictators, with this constant harassment of trade union leaders, the process of collective bargaining was not given much opportunity to thrive (Yesufu, 1982).

Most of the bargaining’s were done between the in-house unions and their employers, unfortunately the employees for cultural reasons will not want to fight or oppose their employers as it is against the culture of most ethnic groups in Nigeria to fight or oppose someone who is providing one his/her daily bread (Fashoyin, 1980). The mode of recruitment is another hindrance to the process of collective bargaining. Most Nigerian Personnel Managers (PM’s) are likely to recruit from their ethnic groups and when it comes to bargaining these Personnel Managers are expected to negotiate

on behalf of their managements with the workers they had recruited; obviously for cultural reasons again the workers will not want to oppose or 'fight' their kinsmen (Ubeku, 1984; Fashoyin, 1980). This amounts to lack of practice of economic/industrial democracy in the workplaces in Nigeria as was and still is the situation in the UK (Egboh, 1968). This could be traced to the larger society where the introduced political democracy has failed which partly led to the various military interventions (Yesufu, 1982). The impact of the various interventions of military in the Nigerian politics on the Nigerian employment relations practice will now be discussed.

2.8 Military interventions in the Nigerian politics: the arrival of new management elites

The intervention of military in the political scene of Nigeria was not totally a surprise to most political observers and thinkers; this is because nearly all the pre-colonial ethnic groups in the country were ruled by traditional rulers who were more or less dictators (Yesufu, 1982). For example the Oba's of the South West of Nigeria, the Emir's of the Northern Nigeria and the Obi's of the South Eastern Nigeria were monarchical dictators who were never democratically elected (Nordlinger, 1977; Janowitz and vanDoorn, 1972; Hoffmann, 1995; Feit, 1968). For example before the coming of the colonial masters, those in the south west were ruled by the Oba's; those in the south east were under the Obi's while those in the northern part were in the hands of the Emir's; culturally, these traditional rulers were seen as divine representatives of God on earth, unquestionable and untouchable; in short they were absolute rulers and they ruled for life; some were even worshipped (Vaughan, 1991). When they die their children- especially their sons - automatically took over; this was

the situation for centuries in this part of the world before colonisation by Britain (Kennedy, 1975; Agbese, 2009).

Military dictatorship is nearer to the civilian dictatorship which the pre-colonial institutions of Obaship, Obiship, and Emirship represented than the Parliamentary democratic system introduced by the British colonial masters which was far too distance from the institutions of Obaship, Obiship and the Emirship (Yesufu, 1982). Both the military and the institutions of Obaship, Emirship and Obiship did not recognise opposition; oppositions were seen as enemies that must be eliminated at all cost (Hoffmann, 1995). This is unlike the British democratic parliamentary system that recognises opposition, with a fixed tenure of office for elected representatives, respect for the rule of law and freedom of speech (Bailey, 1978). The various ethnic groups who are now merged together and referred to as Nigerians were not used to all these practices as they were not brought up this way; at least not part of their cultural socialisation process (Yesufu, 1982).

The British colonialists recognised this and gave political and economic roles to the traditional rulers and even allowed these traditional rulers to retain most of their powers; the Parliamentary system of government inherited at independence, made provisions for the traditional rulers as they were members of the House of Lords (Herowitz, 1990). The elected people were granted more powers over the traditional rulers which in many cases led to conflicts as the later felt more superior especially as the elected people were the educated elites who are not necessarily from the royal families; this made some regions ungovernable which manifested through riots, political unrest and riggings of elections (Kegley and Herman, 1995).

The nearest to the former pre-colonial system was the military in which case the military ruler had absolute power and authority derived from the use of brute force (Osoba, 1996). So when the military first intervened in January 1966, it was celebrated by the people (Onimode, 1981). It should also be mentioned that nearly all the former British colonies especially in Africa have gone through what can be referred to as the military experience immediately after the British left. From Ghana to Nigeria to Sierra Leone to Pakistan to Zimbabwe to Uganda, to the Fiji islands - the list is endless (Jackson and Rosberg, 1982). The few exceptions were: India, Australia and Canada: the same reasons used above to explain military interventions in Nigeria could explain the failure of political democracy in most former British colonies; which was a colonial legacy especially in most African former British colonies (Wiseman, 1990).

The first military intervention in Nigeria was through a very bloody coup led by Major Nzeogwu in 15 January 1966 (just about five years after independence, independence was on 1 October 1960); this coup was expected to end the misrule, ineptitude and corruption of the preceding five years plus; this coup lasted for just a couple of days (Yesufu, 1982). There was a counter coup led by Aguiyi Ironsi that lasted till July 1966. Another Northern - sponsored counter coup came up on 29 July 1966 which brought General Yakubu Gowon in as the Head of State and Commander – in- Chief of the Armed forces. It was under him -General Gowon- that Nigeria went through the civil war, from June 1967 to January 1970. The war was fought mainly because the Northerners accused Major Nzeogwu of the South-East of killing more Northern Hausas than his Igbo brothers' government officials during the first coup;

for example the Governor General, Azikwe from the South East was spared while the Prime Minister, Tafawa Balewa, a Northern was killed (Osoba, 1996).

General Murtala Mohammed succeeded Gowon on 29 of July 1975. He (General Mohammed) was assassinated on 13 February 1976 in an aborted coup and his Chief of Staff, General Olusegun Obasanjo was installed as the new Head of State. General Olusegun Obasanjo successfully handed over power to the civilian government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari on 1 October 1979. In 1984, the military struck again and General Mohammed Buhari came into power in response to the twin ills of corruption and indiscipline among the public officers of the Second Republic; this regime was brutal and harsh (Osoba, 1996).

This led to the imprisonment of several top government functionaries at both the Federal and State levels for almost the whole tenure of the regime without being charged or even tried for any offence. Some were tried secretly by special military tribunals and they were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, including life, for crimes ranging from unlawful possession of government properties (including cars, spoons, carpets etc) and to contributing to the economic adversity of the country (Diamond, 1987). The regime made a mockery of the judicial system as former government officials between 50 and 60 years old were sentenced to 200-350 years of imprisonment (Huntington, 1995; Osoba, 1996). On 27 of August 1985, there was a palace coup which toppled the Buhari regime and brought in General Babangida's regime. He (Babangida) was the first military ruler in Nigeria that insisted that he should be addressed as President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. He

restored the human rights that was taken away by General Buhari's regime, but set up an original kind of military autocracy.

After the annulment of the most peaceful elections in the history of Nigeria, he (Babangida) handed over to Ernest Shonekan-a civilian- who was overthrown by General Abacha on 17 November 1993, who later died on 8 June 1998. He was succeeded by General Abdulsalam Abubakar on 9 June, 1998 who later on 29 May 1999 handed over to the civilian Government of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo - a former military ruler. He was a civilian President for two terms of four years each and he handed over to another civilian President- Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua- on 29 May 2007; upon the death of Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua on 5 May 2010, Jonathan Goodluck was sworn as President (Carothers, 1977; Kegley and Hermann, 1995; Spinoza, 2008; Odinga, 2010).

There is no doubt that 'effective colonial government rested on two basic pillars: firstly, the maintenance of law and order to uphold the authority of the administration; and secondly, the collection of adequate revenue with which to finance the running of the colony' (Killingray, 1986:32). To be able to maintain law and order the colonial masters had to bring in their own judicial institutions and personnel, their own system of policing as well as their own army at least to recruit and train the natives. Ibid (1986) suggests that the forces engaged to maintain law and order consisted of the government police in the front line and the military in reserve which was small in number. This was mainly because the colonial government was more concerned about protecting European lives and property in towns and commercial centres and also to provide some measures of control over the key parts of the economic infrastructure;

they therefore provided new instruments of coercive authority that mainly reflected foreign ideas (Ahire, 1991).

The fact that the colonial masters used the army personnel to administer the country was enough justification for some Nigerian military officers to justify the interventions of the military in politics (Killingray, 1986). For example the first Governor General of Nigeria - Lord Lugard- and some of his Governors were serving or retired British soldiers. Lugard studied at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, United Kingdom. He served in the Afghan War (1879-1880), was involved in the Sudan Campaign (1884-1885) and served in the Third Burmese War (1886-1887) - (Margery, 1956). Most of the Nigerian senior military officers who participated in the various coups were trained at Sandhurst, United Kingdom and no doubt would have been interested in an old student like Lord Lugard.

Despite the country becoming a Republic in 1963, the Nigerian Armed Forces were still structured along the British Military System and to implement British-oriented doctrines, the trainings from the simple to the complex ones both in content and methodology were done in Britain and in the British fashion (Killingray, 1986). The size was small but disciplined and used mainly for ceremonial duties until January 1966 when they became involved in the Nigerian politics (Luckham, 1971).

Nigeria's Armed forces are one of the largest and most proficient in Africa (Ihonvbere, 1994). The history of the Nigerian Armed Forces could be traced to 1863, when the Governor of Lagos – Lt Glover of the Royal Navy- put together 18 Northern Nigerians who were expected to protect the lives and properties of the British

residents in and around Lagos (Miners, 1971). They were also expected to protect the British traders, the Christian missionaries and to protect the British Trade routes around Lagos (Ukpabi, 1989). These small troops formed the nucleus of the Hausa Constabulary with a nucleus from the Royal Niger Company Constabulary- these were the troops of the Royal Niger Company raised in 1886 to form the West African Field Force (Ukpabi, 1966). The first Battalion was formed on 26 August 1896 while the second Battalion was formed in 1898 and the third Battalion was added later in 1898 (Butts and Metz, 1996; Ukpabi, 1966).

The West African Field Force and the Northern Nigeria Regiment were amalgamated in May 1900 (Killingray, 1986). In 1914, the Southern Nigeria Regiment and the Northern Nigeria Regiment were amalgamated to form the Nigeria Regiment of the West African Frontier Force (Miners, 1971). In 1956, at the visit of Queen Elizabeth II the remaining troops, not part of the West African Frontier Force from the North and South Regiments, was renamed the Queen's Own Nigerian Regiment (QONR). Later that same year, Britain granted military autonomy to her dependencies and the QONR was renamed Nigerian Military Force (NMF) (Lukham, 1971). In 1960 at independence the name changed again to become the Royal Nigerian Army. As soon as Nigeria became a Republic in 1963, the name was changed to the Nigerian Army and with the other two forces - Navy and Air Force- were designated the Nigerian Armed Forces, the name it bears till today (Adekson and Adekanye, 1981).

The armed forces of Nigeria were up till 15 January 1966 seen in public only on ceremonial occasions especially during the annual Independence Day anniversary – 1 of October- when they make ceremonial parades and the Air Force engages in the

usual colourful air display (Janowitz and van Doom, 1971). This changed immediately after the coup of 15 January 1966; the military took over the managements of Federal, States and to some extent Local Council Affairs. Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, the country has experienced almost thirty years of military dictatorial rule (Hargreaves, 2002). With the demise of the First Republic in January 1966, the dictatorial and authoritarian military rule was only interrupted by a brief civilian and democratic rule of the Second Republic from 1979 to 1983 (Lewis, 1994).

These military coups were unconstitutional as The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Nigerian Constitution 1979, paragraph 42) states that : 'The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall not be governed, nor shall any person or group of persons take control of the government of Nigeria or any part thereof, except in accordance with the provisions of this constitution'. This is not to say that the coups were not foreseen as it was apparent that there was no way in which the neo-colonial social formation inherited by Nigeria with its conditions of dislodgment, confusion, dependence, foreign domination, alienation of the people from the state, an unproductive and dependent dominant class, and structural disabilities could have been stable or united following political independence on 1 October 1960 (Oni and Onimode, 1975; Falola, 1987; Onimode, 1982).

The perception of most Nigerians was that the Nigerian military do not have what it takes to manage the country (Ihonvbere, 1991). Ajagbe (1990) suggests that the Nigerian army is the least respected institution in Nigeria; this is because most of them were (and still) not educated and were recruited because of the civil war.

Ihonvbere (1991) perceives no difference between the military and the civilian governments that were overthrown. Nearly all the coup plotters were aware of their unpopular actions this was why they all promised to hand over to the civilians as soon as practicable, but only General Olusegun Obasanjo who handed over to Alhaji Shehu Shagari, in 1979 and General Adduulsalami Abubakar- who handed over to Chief Olusegun Obasanjo (a retired General and a former military ruler) on 29 May 1999- ever did (Luckham, 1971).

The military might not be respected but their contributions to the doctrine of management – political, educational, economic, social and cultural – in Nigeria cannot be ignored. For example by December 1983, when the civilian government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari was overthrown by General Buhari, the Nigerian economy was in a bad state, as 50% of the industrial capacity of the country had been lost owing to the closure of factories because of their inability to obtain foreign exchange to import raw materials and spare parts (Nigerian Daily Times Newspaper, 12/08/84).

According to Olukoshi and Abdulraheem (1985) one million workers lost their jobs from the manufacturing sector between 1980 and 1983, Nigeria's GDP fell by 4.4% in 1983 after a decline of 2% in 1982 and the budget deficit for 1983 was N 6.231 billion , representing more than 50% of total government expenditure. The foreign exchange current account recorded a deficit of N 4.9 billion in 1982 and N 2.9 billion in 1983. The economy spent N9.095 billion on imports in 1980 and this rose to N13.59 billion in 1981; the earnings from crude oil exports fell from N10.1 billion in 1980 to N5.161 billion in 1982; with this situation the country was about to collapse.

There was therefore a need for some interventions, and this was why 31 December 1983 coup was welcomed by most Nigerians (Feit, 1968).

The General Buhari regime of January 1984 – August 1985, rightly identified corruption, lack of political and economic discipline, as the reasons for the downward slope of the economy (Osoba, 1996). The regime also discovered that the State was engaged in wasteful expenditure as the civil service was unnecessarily large and the State was perceived as unwisely subsidising the education and the health sectors (Ajagbe, 1990). The military regime came up with the following measures: a drastic reduction in government spending through mass retrenchment, removal of state subsidies on health and education, fees being introduced in hospitals and re-introduced in universities; internally generated revenues were speeded up (Osoba, 1996). The colours of Naira notes -Nigerian currency- were changed to check illegal currencies trafficking within and outside the country (Ajagbe, 1990).

The regime made the repayments of foreign short-term loans, especially the backlogs a top priority: servicing of long-term loans was also not neglected. Local industrialists were encouraged to source their raw materials locally as much as possible, agriculture was encouraged and the already cancelled negotiations with IMF were revisited (Diamond, 1987). The regime came up with drastic measures and no one could fault the economic measures of the regime (Ajagbe, 1990). Unfortunately the regime was overthrown by the General Babangida - led coup (Dawodu, 1999).

In the political management of the country, Babangida's regime created a political party arrangement that was hailed not only in Nigeria, but in the whole of Africa

(Alubo, 2004). For the first time in the Nigerian history, Babangida tried to diffuse real political power to local governments and deliberately encouraged political enlistment through education and political awareness activities (Osoba, 1996). His regime also created the Centre for Democratic Studies to help train local government elected officials (Lewis, 2008). Nigeria is basically rural and majority of the people live in the villages with little or no infrastructures like good roads, clean water and electricity (Yesufu, 1982); a lot of people were therefore cut off politically before this policy (Lewis, 2008). Secondly, farming remains the main occupation and this was carried out by the aged farmers as the young ones had left for the cities; this new policy was meant to open up these villages (Nwokedi, 1991).

Education was not spared as it became militarised, Alubo (2004) observed that prolonged military rule succeeded in militarising civil structures, including the universities. Ekong's (1999) concluded that there were no more democratic arrangements in the university governance; meritocracy and oligarchy rather than democracy became the political norm in the university settings under the various military regimes.

The management of Nigeria's external relations by the military was excellent (Feit, 1968). External relations were on the Exclusive list of the Constitution; that is to say that it was the exclusive domain of the Federal Government, the States and the Local Governments had no say at all. This was in line with the Article 74 of The Republican Constitution of Nigeria of 1979 which states that: 'Parliament is responsible for making laws for Nigeria or any part thereof with respect to matters not included in the legislative lists for the purpose of implementing any treaty, convention or agreement

between the Federation and any other country or any arrangement with or decision of an international organization of which the Federation is a member. Murtala/Obasanjo's 1975-1979 regime made Africa the centrepiece of Nigeria's foreign policy (Akinyemi, 1991). This made it possible for Nigeria to play a prominent role in the liberation of South Africa and Nigeria's roles as the regional 'policeman' of West Africa just as United States of America is the 'policeman' of the World (Akinyemi, 1991). Major General Joseph N. Garba was Chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, from 1984-1989 and elected President of the 44th United Nations General Assembly as well as presided over its Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Special Sessions during his 1989-90 term in that office.

He was a Harvard scholar and a fellow of the Institute of Politics at J. F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (Akinyemi, 1991:78). The Nigerian military, despite their unified command structure and centralised nature of their authority, still made Federalism the fundamental basis of its governance; Federalism as a system of governance has featured in all the Nigerian constitutions since 1954 (Suberu, 1993). The only exception was the temporary venture into a unitary state as a result of the Unification Decree (1966) promulgated by the military government of Major – General T. U. Aguiyi- Ironsi; he eventually paid for this error with his life, and the Decree was subsequently reversed (Akinyemi, 1991).

In conclusion, the military boys (as they are called) have left their footprints in all the managerial spheres of Nigeria. The former President of the country- Chief Olusegun Obasanjo- was a retired Army General and military Head of State. He then became a civilian President between 1999 and 2007; the present Senate President -Senator

David Mark was a retired army officer; the present Sultan of Sokoto and the head of the Supreme Muslim Council is a retired Army official and the present Olubadan of Ibadan, Oyo State is a retired Army officer.

Some of the best private secondary schools and universities are financed by the retired military officers; the boards of directors of most blue-chip companies in Nigeria today are dominated by retired military officers (Nigerian Guardian Newspaer, 10/08/08). The reason is not far fetched; the military was in control of the economy for a very long time and have developed themselves educationally by going to good schools and therefore able to combine brain power with economic and financial power which they acquired while in charge of the management of the country's economy for over thirty years (Welch, 1995).

2.9 Summary and conclusion

The British colonial masters merged the Lagos Colony, the Southern Protectorate and the Northern Protectorate to become one Nigeria; these people were from various and different cultural backgrounds. The British colonial masters also transferred the British Voluntarist employment relations system to Nigeria without much thought about the differences in the socio-cultural realities between Britain and Nigeria, and even went ahead to merge various ethnic groups from different socio-cultural backgrounds and forced the British Voluntarist employment relations practice on them. The British colonial masters also introduced a new political arrangement called the parliamentary democracy which replaced the traditional political arrangement of most of the ethnic groups merged together to become Nigeria. The political democratic system introduced failed as well as the employment relations system. The

British Voluntarist employment relations practice failed because the political democracy failed; both failures could be traced to the fact that both management practices were developed from a different cultural area (the Great Britain) and brought to another different cultural area (Nigeria and other former British Colonies) and to be administered on a group of people from very different cultural backgrounds.

It can be concluded that political democracy as a form of political management failed in Nigeria as evidenced by the various military coups and the civil war, the British Voluntarist ERP failed as manifested in the enactment of the constitutional provisions of the 'Federal Character' (recruitments, selections and promotions based on state of origin rather than on merit). The failure of the political democracy contributed to the failure of economic and industrial democracy which invariably led to the failure of the British Voluntarist employment relations practice. The assumption that because a political management practice –political democracy- had worked in some places it will therefore work in all other places; Nigeria inclusive, is erroneous and dangerous and the result was the various military coups, civil wars and the emergence of some African dictators like General Sanni Abacha of Nigeria and President Mugabe of Zimbabwe.

The only way out of the above is to fashion out a political management or arrangement that will incorporate the socio-cultural values of the different countries. Nigeria is presently trying another political arrangement; one that is similar to the America's Presidential system because of the failure of the British Parliamentary system. This is also bound for failure because of the non-inclusion of prominent roles for the Emirs, Obas and Obis and the lack of recognition and respect for the

importance of socio cultural institutions and realities. The next chapter will discuss the business history of Cadbury Worldwide and Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc.

Chapter Three: Business history of Cadbury Worldwide, Cadbury (UK) Plc Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and theories of multinational enterprises

3.0 Introduction

This chapter treats the business history of Cadbury Worldwide, Cadbury (UK) Plc and Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc, as well as some of the products of Cadbury Worldwide and that of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. It also discusses employee participations in decision making processes in both organisations. The chapter will also discuss multinational enterprises and justifies why Cadbury Worldwide is a multinational enterprise and why it has been chosen as the case study for this research.

3.1 Why Cadbury Worldwide?

Cadbury Worldwide is an English confectionery and Beverage Company and the world's second largest confectionery manufacturer, after Mars/Wrigley (Cadbury, 1992; Dahya *et. al.* 2002). The company was known as Cadbury Schweppes Plc from 1969 until its de-merger in May 2008, which separated the company's global confectionery business from its beverage unit; the beverage unit was renamed Dr. Pepper Snapple Group while the confectionery unit was simply referred to as Cadbury Plc or Cadbury Worldwide (Financial Times, 10/06/08).

The company employs about 45,000 people worldwide (Dahya *et al.*, 2002). The company is represented in over two hundred countries directly or indirectly, - represented in more countries than member countries of UNO as at 2006-, but with manufacturing facilities in 60 countries - with business interests in a number of packaged food and beverage sectors and with about 35,000 direct and indirect suppliers in its global network (*Management Today*, July, 2007). About 160 people

are in the executive management team, as at 2008, 13% of which are women (*Cadbury Magazine*, 2008). The global staff turnover is about 2-5% per annum; the company is among the top 10 in the UK's *Management Today*'s most admired companies in 2006/2007. The mission statement as regards employment is that: 'Our people practises are guided by our key values, which are to be open and honest, to act with complete integrity and to provide quality products and services'. (*Cadbury Magazine*, 2008:10; Company profile of Cadbury Plc retrieved on 1/10/2008). In 2008, the company had a free cash flow (after payment of dividends) of about £1.5 billion and a revenue growth of between 3 and 5% per annum excluding impacts of acquisitions and disposals (*Management Today*, January, 2009). Nestle is the closest rival of Cadbury Worldwide in the over US\$5.6billion chocolate market in the United Kingdom (Tiffen, 2002).

This conglomerate had a humble beginning from Birmingham, United Kingdom with international manufacturing offices at Bournville, Birmingham and at Hertfordshire in the United Kingdom (Cadbury 1992). The Company was declared the UK's most admired company after ousting Tesco in 2004; the company is on track to declare £2bn profit, in 2009 (*Cadbury Magazine*, 1992). Cadbury Worldwide consumes about 60,000 tonnes of cocoa beans yearly; the company is usually referred to as a small family business which developed into an international company combining the most sophisticated technology with the maximum standards of quality, technical skills and innovation (Rowlinson, 1993).

Cadbury Worldwide is recently (January, 2010) in the news over speculations that the American owned Kraft Foods Inc has made a bid of £10.2 billion to take over the

company which has been rejected. Kraft also pledged to safeguard the closure of Cadbury's Somerdale factory and save about 400 jobs. Another US confectionery giant, Hershey is also speculated to be interested in the take over of Cadbury. Todd Stizer, who is presently the Chief Executive of Cadbury Worldwide, was quoted to have said that there are "clear similarities between the Cadbury culture and Hershey". In all of these, the Cadbury family has been against another American intervention in any form or shape (assessed on line and last cited on 01/01/10). Kraft Foods Inc. later in 2 February 2010 purchased Cadbury Worldwide for £11.7bn (BBC News 3/2/2010).

Cadbury (UK) Plc in 2010 employed about 5000 people in the United Kingdom alone with eight manufacturing sites in Britain and Ireland; it has always been in either the top or second position in the market share of 24 of the World's top 50 confectionery markets (Financial Times 27/04/10). In the United Kingdom, it is the clear leader in the confectionery market with a 29.5% market share, ahead of major competitors Master Foods (19.7%) and Nestle (14%), the company is ranked 26th in the FTSE – 100 (London Stock Exchange 'Prices & News', 20/04/10). The full-year result for 2004 showed turnover was up 5% to £6,738 million, and underlying operating profit was up by 6% to £1,115 million. (A.C. Nielsen, October 2005) The Company's 'number one goal for 2004-2007' is 'not about excellence, innovation or developing its people' but "to deliver superior shareholder performance". The fifth- placed priority is to enhance its reputation with staff and society'. (Cadbury Magazine, 2008:10)

3.2 From the beginning - 1824 till now (2010): business history of Cadbury Worldwide

The success story of this giant conglomerate as it is now known started from a humble beginning in 93 Bull Street, Birmingham at a shop opened by John Cadbury in 1824 and, in the last 186 years the company had acquired many more businesses (Morck, 2005). John Cadbury was born in Birmingham on 12 August 1801. His father was Richard Tapper Cadbury, who was born in Exeter in 1768 and came to Birmingham in 1794. John left for Leeds when he was about 16 or 17 as an apprentice to a tea dealer; he came back to his birth place, Birmingham to set up a business next to his father's drapers shop in Bull Street, Birmingham (Ibid, 2005: 600).

John Cadbury started the manufacture of chocolate and cocoa drinks in 1840 and soon was operating from a factory in Bridge Street; he later went into partnership with his brother, Benjamin and the partnership was called 'Cadbury Brothers of Birmingham', but the partnership was dissolved in 1860 (Rowlinson and Hassard, 1993). In the 1850's, the British government reduced the import taxes on cocoa beans, which eventually reduced the price of chocolate and gave the chocolate industry a boost while the product was now available to the poor people (Williams, 1931). The company received a Royal warrant as a manufacturer of chocolate from Queen Victoria in 1854 and opened an office in London; he -John Cadbury- retired and his sons took over the business. It was said that John Cadbury retired after the death of his wife who died after a prolong illness; he eventually died in 1889 after devoting the rest of his life to civic and social work and the business was handed over to his sons, Richard and George (Child and Smith, 1990).

The Cadbury brothers bought a Van Houten Press which helped them to produce pure cocoa butter and there was no need to add starchy ingredients; the cocoa beans were roasted, winnowed, ground and mixed with sugar to make chocolate powder (Child and Smith, 1990). The consumers would have to add hot water or milk to make a tasty blend of chocolate drink; they had to struggle to keep the company afloat as they had to put in long hours of work but with little financial rewards to show for it (Williams, 1931). This made them to examine the production processes and the products; they succeeded in devising a production process and a new product known as Cocoa Essence was also added to the Cadbury's products; this product was an instant success because it was a new and an unadulterated product (Dellheim, 1987).

In the 1860's they moved to a new factory, known as Bourneville; this name was derived from the French word 'ville' meaning 'town' while 'Bourn' was the name of the stream running through the estate which was then located somewhere in the countryside on the outskirts of Birmingham and about fourteen and a half acres (Sykes, 1958). This place was ideal because there were rail, canal links as well as main roads; the factory was completed in 1879; this was strategic because as at that time the best chocolates globally were from France (Dellheim, 1987). In 1869 the Cadbury brothers inserted pictures instead of printed labels on the chocolate labels and it became the first company to do so (Cadbury, 1992). In 1873 the Cadbury brothers stopped selling tea and coffee concentrating on chocolate instead, the first Easter eggs were produced in 1875, and in 1878 the brothers acquired more land at the 'Bourneville' (Sykes, 1958).

The first export order came in 1881 from Australia and with expertise from abroad, the company prospered and milk chocolate was introduced while competitions came from Switzerland and France; this put the company on its toes and their products were perfected; new recipes and experimentations made their products to be superior to those of the competitors (Williams, 1931). They made a move to become a limited liability company because of this success; in 1895 Bourmbrook Hall Estate was purchased to enable the factory to expand (Rowlinson and Hassard, 1993). Richard the older brother of George died and their sons joined the business with George at the head and by the turn of the century, the firm added new products and the business expanded and employed 2,500 workers (Dellheim, 1987).

The firm under the headship of George Cadbury, provided housing, education and training, free medical facilities as well as a pension's scheme for the workers (Cadbury, 1992). This was a strange thing to be done in those days when workers were treated just a little better than slaves (Child and Smith, 1990). George Cadbury regarded and treated his employees as part of his family, he recognised their services, and in 1897 a savings account was opened for every employee and those who had spent three years in employment were given thirty shillings each while others went away with ten shillings (Cadbury, 2002). This same year, the first milk chocolate was produced but was coarse and dry and was unable to compete with those made in Switzerland by Daniel Peter (Cadbury, 1992). George went to Switzerland to learn about the secret and discovered that it was condensed milk that was used; he came back to install a milk-condensing plant at Bourneville (Gardiner, 1923).

In 1886 Cadbury became the first firm to open dining rooms with kitchens, foods were sold at reduced prices and in 1887 the company made it a rule that married women must leave work and they were given wedding gifts of a Bible and Carnation (Williams, 1931). George Cadbury believed that mothers must spend enough time with their children, and that a lot of lazy husbands did not want to work but would send their wives out to work (Gardiner, 1923). In 1898, workers' hours were reduced to 48 hours a week instead of 53.5. In 1899, Richard Cadbury died at the age of 63, the business became a Private Limited Company known as Cadbury Brothers Limited with about 2600 workers and the factory at Bourneville had trebled (Bryson and Lowe, 2002).

In 1900, George Cadbury set up Bourneville Villa Trust with 330 acres of land and spacious sanitary houses; it should be noted that by 1915 infant mortality rate at Bourneville was down to 47 per 1,000 live births while that of Birmingham central was 187 per 1,000 (Cadbury, 1947). In 1902 Men's and Women's Suggestions Committees were set up this was to formalise a process that already existed; in 1893 women had voted in favour of starting work later than 6am and leaving later each day (Gardiner, 1923). In 1905, a Men's Committee and later a Women's Committee were set up. These practices influenced many government employment relations decisions (Cadbury, 1947). In 1902, George Cadbury was offered an estate in San Thome (an island in West Africa). During his investigations it was discovered that the estate was once used for slave labour although the estate produced a very high quality cocoa beans and at a relatively cheaper price (Cadbury, 1992). George Cadbury declined and moved to Ghana instead; despite the fact that Ghana was reputed for the production of low quality cocoa beans instead of taking up an island with a reputation for

production of high quality cocoa beans but also reputed for use of slave labour (Cadbury, 1947). In 1909, William Cadbury visited Odumassi and discovered that the Chief personally supervised cocoa production; this impressed him and in 1910 Cadbury started buying cocoa beans from Ghana at very good market prices (Bryson and Lowe, 2002).

In 1908, Bourneville Chocolate, the original dark chocolate was launched; that same year the number of employees at Bourneville had reached 5,300 (Gardiner, 1923). In 1911 all workers--men and women-- were given holidays with pay and they were all included in the company's pension scheme (Bryson and Lowe, 2002). A milk-condensing factory was opened outside Bourneville. The implication of this was that milk could be handled on the spot; in 1913 the second factory was opened in Gloucestershire (Cadbury, 1947). The two factories were situated near canals so that they could use the canals for transportation and in 1913 Cadbury's Dairy Milk became the firm's biggest product line (Bryson and Lowe, 2002).

The Cadbury's supported the government's war efforts during the 2nd World War despite being Quakers while over 2000 men from Cadbury factories joined the armed forces (Cadbury, 1992). Cadbury sent books, warm clothes and chocolate to the war fronts; their worker's dependants were taken care of at home (Cadbury, 1947). After the war, the soldiers were taken care of by allowing them to return to work - some were even sent on educational courses (Rowlinson and Hassard, 1993). The Cadbury's also contributed to the war efforts by converting part of their factory to workrooms for the manufacture of all kinds of equipments like milling machines for rifle factories and production of pilots' seats (Williams, 1931). The company's

workers also ploughed the football pitch to grow crops, and during air raids the company's St John's Ambulance played a vital role and other workers helped to distribute cups of hot cocoa drink to those who might need them (Cadbury,1947). During the war, chocolate was regarded as an essential product and was placed under government's control; normal production started after the war and more factories were opened, new products were introduced and new technology improved production while demand for chocolate reached an all - time high (Bryson and Lowe, 2002). In 1919, the working hours were reduced to 44 per week as Saturday ceased to be a full-working day while in 1920, Cadbury's Flakes was launched (Jones and Rose, 1993).

The first merger in the company's history came in 1916 with J .S. Fry and Sons, this brought Fry's chocolate and Fry's Turkish delight to the group. The merger was embraced by Joseph Fry because his factories were inefficient and ineffective since they were relying on outdated machines, and were therefore no match to the well-planned and efficient Cadbury's factory in Bourneville (Cadbury, 1992). In 1934, a free miniature animal was given away for every purchase of specially designed tins of cocoa drink (Cadbury, 1947). In 1936, following the success of a 1934 promotion, 'Cococub Club' magazine was launched and within 2 years there were about 300,000 subscribers and in 1938, Cadbury's Roses assortment and milk chocolate marzipan eggs were launched; that same year about 10,000 workers were employed at Bournville factory alone (Smith *et. al.*, 1990).

One can comfortably conclude from the above that Cadbury Worldwide had come a long way from a small one-man business to a family business and finally to a big

multinational company as it is known today. The main businesses of the company today are non-alcoholic beverages and confectionery (Davison, 2010). The company has the largest share of the confectionery global market with products representations across all product categories and a wide geographical spread; in the beverages sector, the company has a very strong regional presence in North America, USA, Africa, Asia and Australia (Rowlinson and Hassard, 1993). It can also be concluded that the religion of the Cadbury's -Quakerism- accounted for their being 'good employers' in their time. This is because their religion preaches equality of all men irrespective of their class or status in the society since all men (and women) are created equally in the eyes of God and all human beings are created in HIS (God's) image (Russel, 1943).

3.3 Employee participation at Cadbury Worldwide (UK)

Employee participation started as far back as 1893 in what is today known as Cadbury Worldwide by George Cadbury when Men's and Women's Suggestion Committee was formalised, this was just to officially formalise the existing practices, because in 1890 women had voted to start work later than the 6 am starting time for men, this Committee was like the present day Trade Unionism (Cadbury, 1947). In 1905, the Women Committee was set up and this had a lot of influence on Government's policies on women at work and the role of women in the society at large; in 1911, the hours of work for all workers -men and women- were reduced to 44 hours a week and Saturdays were declared as half-day working days (Ibid, 1947). It was not surprising that during the times of John and George Cadbury's when workers were treated only a little better than slaves by their employers; both of them were treating their workers as partners in progress, the secret was the Quakerism in them (Gardiner, 1923).

Today employees at Cadbury Worldwide belong to Unite (an industrial, occupational and professional union with over two million members and affiliated to the TUC); the shop steward is headed by a Chairperson who is elected on a five-year term and can serve as many terms as he/she likes (Joe Clarke, 2009). He is entitled to a sabbatical leave during his tenure and usually sends on courses sponsored either by management or those organised by Unite. The Cadbury shop stewards negotiate directly with management on a wide range of issues. The shop steward is under the Yorkshire, North East and Humberside (Unite) Region with headquarters in Leeds. There is also a sectional office in Birmingham. The Regional and the National office also negotiate directly with the management of Cadbury especially in areas where the shop stewards are having challenges. This type of participation is referred to as the site or business unit participation, the power of decision is now moved from the national/industrial bargaining which is central to the site/business unit (Govindaraja and Fisher, 1990; Wright *et al.*, 2006).

There existed multi-unionism at Cadbury Worldwide (UK) up till the 1980's and by the late 1980's this changed to the present single union agreement whereby 'the workforce as a whole is based on a site or enterprise and so in line with the management structure which has emerged from the competitive pressures of the market-place' (Cadbury 1985:14). Prior to this time collective bargaining was at the national and industrial level (Poole *et al*, 1984). The demise of craft union was caused by the introduction of new technology of production which 'wipe out traditional trade union boundaries' this is because '-----'. Whatever their (workers) former trade or skill, their responsibilities will cross former lines of demarcation and considerable flexibility between jobs is required'; in a nutshell competition/market forces and

technological change have made it imperative to both employees and employers 'that the success of a business unit depends on the combined efforts of everyone in it and on the way in which they work together to add value to the goods or services they market (Cadbury, 1985:15).

The advantages of this shift from multi-unionism to the present single union agreement lies in the fact that negotiations will be realistic as the company could explain the economies of the company and everybody will be able to see; moreover a business (site negotiation) unit 'has an economic coherence which a large company (national/industrial level negotiation) can never have, and so it is easier for employees to identify with its aims and to appreciate the market constraints within which it has to operate'; this is to say that the 'better informed the employees are about the economics of their enterprise' the better for both parties (employees and employers) (Cadbury, 1985:15; Metcalf, 1993).

Another advantage is the fact that the managers and their employees can control their environment without waiting for instructions 'from above'; this translates to moving 'the power of decision to the units of which they are made' (Cadbury, 1989:6). This is beneficial to the organisation in that it is able to react to market forces more quickly as well as make it possible for the organisation to possess increased autonomy which enables 'all those who work in it to exercise a greater degree of control over its activities and over their own working lives' (Ibid, 1989:6). The major disadvantage of the multi-unionism is the fact that the loyalty of the employees is more to their industry. Sir Adrian Cadbury gave an example of a printer working in a confectionery factory who sees himself more as a printer rather than as a chocolate worker.

Employee participation started quite early at Cadbury because of the religion (Quakerism) of the founders as Cadbury (1989:5) confirms that there are 'interesting parallels between the views of nineteenth century Quaker industrialists and of those who direct the large Japanese companies of today on the place of the individual in the enterprise'.

The British Employment Acts of 1980 and 1982 allow an individual employee to force a ballot over closed shop and he/she now has legal rights in respect of unfair dismissal; this encourages employees to pursue their claims themselves, rather than through their unions. This also gives employees the right to opt out of company pension schemes and arrange their own pension schemes. On the side of the employers the Acts made it easier for them to seek an injunction against unlawful picketing by making proceedings against named individuals rather than the trade union. This and other factors could be made to account for the decrease in trade union membership (Carruth and Disney, 1988). Despite this nearly (all of those interviewed) the workers at Cadbury Worldwide (UK) belong to Unite and play active part in all the activities of the union.

3.4 Business history and personnel practice of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc

Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc is a member company of Cadbury Worldwide; it is a group member of the Europe, Middle East and Africa Region where its profile has been rising especially since Cadbury Schweppes Plc bought 50.2% of the company on 18 March 2006 and thus became a majority shareholder (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc 'Handbook', 2007). The remaining 49.98% is owned by a highly diversified spread of Nigerian individuals and institutional shareholders. Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc had sales of

around \$150 million in 2003 and a top contributor to Cadbury Worldwide business in Africa (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. 'Handbook', 2004).

The Company was established in the 1950s mainly to source for cocoa and prospect for a market for Cadbury (UK) Plc products while the manufacturing facility was established in January 1965 on a 42-hectare in Ikeja, North of Lagos, Nigeria (Chukwu,2005). The main product then was Bournvita with staff strength of 50 and a modest turnover of £120,000; Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc was listed on the Nigerian Stock Exchange in 1976 and among the top 10 out of the 258 quoted equities by market capitalisation towards the end of 2003 (Nigerian Stock Market, 2008).

Today (20 August 2008), the staff strength is about 1200 workers (7 are Executives, 275 are management staff and the remaining are non- management staff); they are engaged in the production of the following brands. 'Bournvita' which was launched in 1960, (local production started in 1965), 'Goody-Goody' launched in 1966, 'Tom Tom' launched in 1970, 'Trebor Buttermint' launched in 1976, 'Malta' launched in 1979, 'Éclairs' launched in 1989, 'Trebor Peppermint' launched in 1989 (acquisition), 'Trebor Luckies' acquired in 1989, 'Trebor Koffsticks' acquired in 1989, 'Richoco' launched in 1996, 'Trebor Koffdrops' was launched in 2000, 'Trebor Celebrations' was launched in 2003, 'Halls Ahomka Ginger' was launched in 2004, 'Bubba Bubble Gum' was launched in 2004, 'Chocki' was launched in 2004, 'Halls Take 5' was launched in 2004 and 'Passcall Crème Rollers' was launched in 2005 (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc handbook, 2008).

The Company was (until the Bunmi Oni-led management was sacked on 12 December, 2006) managed by a Non-Executive Chairman, a Managing Director, a Finance Director, an expatriate Non-executive Director, an Operation Director, a Marketing Director, a Non-Executive Director, a Sales Director, a Nigerian Non-Executive Director, a Logistics Director, the Managing Director of Stanmark (cocoa processing arm of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc), President of EMEA Region and a member of the Chief Executive's Committee and a Company Secretary who also serves as Company Secretary of Stanmark Cocoa Processing Limited; it should be said that all the management staff were Nigerian until 12/12/06 (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc handbook, 2008).

One good personnel practice that Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc must have inherited from Cadbury Worldwide is the fact that the company usually recruit to keep, for example as at 2006, out of the seven Executive Directors; four joined the company as Management Trainees. They are Bunmi Oni (the Managing Director) Tunde Falase (Marketing Director), Biodun Jaji (Sales Director), and Moudu Ugdodaga (Operations Director). This is true of very many senior members of staff of Cadbury Worldwide. For example Vidyut Arte, the Marketing Director of Cadbury China whose first job was with Cadbury China; Martin Spencer, Demand Planning Manager of Cadbury Trebor Allan INC. Toronto, Canada; Pippa Greenslade, the Regional Human Resources Director based in Singapore; all of them started their working careers with Cadbury Worldwide (*Cadbury, 2008 December issue*).

All the above mentioned workers have at various times in their careers gone for various courses and worked in so many branches of Cadbury Worldwide outside their

countries of origin. It is likely that if you are recruited by one subsidiary you can work or go for work experiences in any of the subsidiaries of the company Worldwide (Cadbury.2007). The company's Human Resources Strategy (2007/2008) states that: "---- to improve our performance by enhancing the effectiveness of our day to day working experience, the capability of our people and the quality of their of their output. --- working environment at Cadbury Schweppes reflects our core purpose and values, and enhances our culture.----- HR leadership team combines regional HR generalist business partners and central worldwide functional experts'. (People, June 2007)

From the discussions so far, one can conclude that Cadbury Worldwide leans more in favour of centralised strategy in terms of control. There are at least two Non-Executive Directors from the Regional Office on the board of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. Matt Shattock the President of EMEA Region is a Non-Executive Director as well as being a member of the CEC (Chief Executive Committee) which reports directly to the board of Cadbury Schweppes Plc (Cadbury Handook, December, 2008) .

3.5 Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc – The Emergence of the Nigerian leading confectionery and beverages manufacturers' conglomerate

Setting the tone

Joseph (1978) describes Nigeria as the investor's heaven. This is because of the population which is about 150,000,000 people,(2006 census), the enormous expanse of land, -the country has a total land area of 4047 km, more than twice the size of California and 923,768 sq km land area, a the land area comprising of 13,000sq km of water and 910,768 sq km of land- her large reserves of crude oil and natural gas

(Nigeria is among the top six crude oil exporters in the World) as well as the availability of other mineral and natural resources (Schatzl, 1969; Sachs and Warner, 2001).

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, George Cadbury in 1902 turned down an offer to purchase high quality cocoa beans from Sao Thome (an island in West Africa); on the ground that it once used slave labour on the cocoa beans plantations (Gardiner, 1923). He eventually turned to the then Gold Coast (now known as Ghana) - Nigeria's neighbour - to rather purchase low quality cocoa beans; one would have expected that Cadbury should have in no long time come to Nigeria, but nothing was heard of Cadbury until 1950 when the company came to Nigeria with an initial objective of sourcing for cocoa beans and to prospect for a market for manufactured goods (Chukwu, 2005). It should be said that today Nigeria is one of the leading cocoa beans exporters in the World; 60% of World's cocoa beans is produced by Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Ghana, and Cameroon all in West Africa (Rohan and Stewart, 1967).

Between 1950 and 1965 the company - Cadbury, Nigeria Ltd. - was involved in packaging operations; to re-package imported bulk finished products of the then Cadbury Pty. Ltd from the United Kingdom into small tins which are sold in Nigeria. Cadbury established a manufacturing facility in Ikeja, North of Lagos. Cadbury (Nigeria) Limited was incorporated in Nigeria on 9 January 1965 -about five years after the independence of the country - as a 100% owned subsidiary of Cadbury with 'Bournvita' as its only product; it engaged in the package and sales of the product (Chukwu, 2005).

In 1976, 40% of the business was sold to private Nigerian investors through a listing on the Nigerian Stock Market; Cadbury Schweppes (as it was then known) was still the majority shareholder with 60% shareholding. The Company was listed on the Nigeria Stock Exchange in 1976, with N 750,000,000.00 as the authorised share capital; the paid up capital was N 500, 424,423.00 (Nigerian Stock Exchange, Nov/Dec. 1976). In the same year (1976), Cadbury Schweppes' holding was first reduced to 80% from the former 100% holding. The shareholding was further reduced to 40% in 1978, but following the changes to foreign company ownership regulations in Nigeria in 1995, the Group, Cadbury Schweppes tried to increase its shareholding in Cadbury Nigeria as part of a long term strategic aim of growing its confectionery business in Africa as Nigeria was seen as a base for further expansion in West Africa. This was achieved in 2006 when Cadbury Schweppes increased its shareholding to 50.2% to become the majority share holder (Akintoye, 2008).

The company has grown over the years to move from a mono-product company to become a multi-product company and from a packaging company to a manufacturing company (Amao and Amaeshi, 2008). The manufactured products of the Company as at 2005, include: 'Tom Tom', 'Bournvita', 'Bubba Gum', 'Cadbury Chocki', 'Trebor Mints', 'Halls Take 5' (vitaminised candy, 'Crème Rollers' and it also owns a Cocoa processing plant—Stanmark Cocoa Processing Company. The staff strength then - in the 1950s - was 50 with a turnover of about £120,000 and by 2005 this had grown to about \$200 million or about 29 billion Nigerian Naira and the staff strength has grown to about 2,429 as at 31 December 31 2005 (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc 'Handbook', 2006). The Company went into full-fledged manufacturing in 1965 from the former packaging activities; this was also in line with the government's policy after

independence to encourage manufacturing locally and reduce the economic dependence on Britain (Chukwu, 2005).

Nigeria has grown to become an important market for the Cadbury Schweppes Group within its fast - growing operations in Africa and the Middle East. Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc contributed £6 million profit to the Cadbury Schweppes Group in 2005. Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc has grown to become the second largest business within the Groups's AMET (African regional grouping of Cadbury Schweppes) after South Africa and the joint 4th largest with Ireland in EMEA (African and European regional grouping of Cadbury Schweppes). Without any doubt Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc has become a key production hub for the Group in West Africa (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc *Handbook*, 2007).

This will obviously go a long way in enhancing Cadbury Nigeria's Plc capabilities through better access to the Group technology and expertise (Cadbury, 2008). By the year ended in January 2006, the company's net sale was £102 million with an underlying operating profit of £20 million. This was about £5million of the Group's share result. (All figures are pro-forma, excluding a licensed business which was terminated in November 2005). The value of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc on the Cadbury Schweppes Balance sheet as at 30 June 2006 was £70 million (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc *Handbook*, 2007). The Company intends by 2010 -2012 to have carried out an ambitious growth agenda, codenamed *Project Marathon* which will among other things allow for an extensive modernisation of the company's production plants and corporate headquarters in the relentless pursuit of higher productivity and superior performance, progressed integration of the West Africa operations of Cadbury

Schweppes and significant inroads into the ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) market of 250 million people (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc *Handbook,2008*).

Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc has evolved as a robust and vertical integrated business due to the imperative to secure product quality and maintain a better control of the supply chain (Achi, 2008). The industrial materials unit manufactures key inputs (glucose, syrup and sorghum extract) to feed the mainline businesses, while an export-oriented subsidiary –Stanmark Cocoa Processing Company- supplies excellent quality cocoa powder. Stanmark enjoys Export Processing Factory status, and has a singular mission to be the preferred supplier of cocoa butter and cocoa liquor to selected customers around the world (Chukwu, 2005).

It should be mentioned that Stanmark Cocoa Processing Company Limited, a subsidiary of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc processes about 15,000 Tonnes of local cocoa beans into prime pressed cocoa butter, cocoa liquor and cocoa powder annually (*Cadbury News'* 2006:21). The cocoa butter and liquor are usually exported to countries in Europe and other parts of the World while most of the cocoa powder is consumed by the Food Drinks operations of the Company. The export revenue to Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc in 2005 was in excess of \$17 million.

The company's (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc) vision is to be a \$1billion integrated West African business by 2012. This vision was conceived and being implemented by the Company's management team in Agidingbi, Ikeja Lagos (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc, *Handbook, 2008*). The Company as at 31 December 2005 has the following as its

Mission Statement: ‘Our mission in Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc is to serve the consumer with products of consistently high quality, made readily available at prices which offer real value for the money spent. In its relations with stakeholders and business associates, the Company is guided by an unwavering commitment to the pursuit of excellence as the basis for current success and future growth’ (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc *Handbook*, 2005:2).

The thorn in the roses of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc emerged on 16th of November, 2006 when it was announced that: ‘Today, (16th of November, 2006) ----- a preliminary report from the investigating accountants into the accounting irregularities. -----, has confirmed a significant and deliberate overstatement of the company’s financial position over a number of years. The CEO (Bunmi Oni) and Finance Director (Ayo Akadiri) have been relieved of their positions. A complete review of the business has been initiated by the Board of Cadbury Nigeria.’ (Amao and Amaeshi, 2007 *in print*) The company went further to state that it expected to make an operating loss of between £5 and £10 million in 2006. The two Nigerian directors were quickly replaced by expatriates. It should not be forgotten that by now Cadbury Schweppes Plc has become the majority shareholder with 50.2% shareholdings. International interests no doubt ‘have been attracted to Nigeria --- due to the discovery of Enron like Scandal in the subsidiary of Cadbury Schweppes in Nigeria: Cadbury Nigeria Plc’ (Amao & Amaeshi, 2007 *in print*).

On 12 December 2006 the company released a statement stating inter alia that: ‘We are now able to inform all stakeholders of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc that the independent investigator of our financial statement -- PricewaterhouseCoopers -- has submitted a

report of their findings. The investigation has confirmed a significant and deliberate overstatement of the Company's financial position over a number of years. On account of this, Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc will report an underlying operating loss of between N1 and 2 billion. We are also expected to make one-time exceptional charges in 2006 of between N13 billion and N15 billion in respects of the profit and balance sheet overstatements, which will considerably diminish Company reserves' (Ibid. 2007 *in print*).

As is to be expected, 'investors, including pension fund managers, have since the revelation lost a lot of money. Since the exposure of the company's misrepresentation of their financial statements, the share of the company declined from its high N70 on the 18th of August, 2006 to N32.46 – a reduction of 46% - on December, 2006' this translated into a loss estimated to be in the region of N 41.3 billion in shareholders equity (Amao & Amaeshi, 2007 *in print*). They (2007 *in print*) conclude that 'The state of affair in Nigeria, a country which is striving to gain the confidence of investors both foreign and local is further undermining investor's confidence in the economy. The shareholders are not the only persons who stand to lose in this scenario as such developments could lead to job losses in an economy dogged by chronic unemployment'.

So many questions do come to mind, some of which are: are Nigerian managers not competent to manage multinational companies? Or are the expatriates desperate to take over the management of their companies? It is important to answer these questions because the same Bunmi Oni-led management was said to have increased the company's turnover to N29 billion in 2005 from N13 billion, while the company's

assets base increased from N3.3 billion to over N12 billion. Only in October 2006 the company won all the awards that are available at the National Marketing Awards, and also won nearly all the awards in the cocoa beverages category (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc *Financial Review*, 2005). In the early part of 2006 Cadbury Schweppes increased its stake in Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc from 46.6% to 50.2% and by November 2006 Bunmi Oni's led- management was accused of financial overstatement. On the other hand, Bakre (2007) states that as a result of unethical practices by accountants and auditors, which have resulted in the distress or occasionally the closure of companies, some indigenous Nigerian Managing Directors of multinational corporations such as Lever Brothers and Cadbury Nigeria Plc have been sacked and replaced with expatriates.

Moreover, Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc will not be the first multinational company headed by Nigerians that will be alleged of financial overstatement or what the Nigerian press referred to as cooked up financial reports. Afribank (Nigeria) Plc, Lever Brothers Nigeria Limited (now Unilever (Nigeria) Plc) had their Nigerian senior managers sanctioned in the past. It is therefore very difficult to take a stand on the Financial Overstatement of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. This issue created bad publicity not only for Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc but the Group as a whole. This made Todd Stitzer, CEO of Cadbury Schweppes Plc to address it in his 2007 speech. He said, 2006 had been a demanding year for Cadbury Schweppes Plc with strong performances across largely most of the businesses but was to a degree offset by events in the UK and Nigeria (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc *Handbook*, 2008). There is no doubt that a company that started in 1950 as a packaging company with only 50 staff and with a turnover of only £120,000 now today (2008) employs over 2,000 people, with a turnover of about

\$200million in 2005-(Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc *Financial Review, 2005*), has performed very well. These achievements in less than 50 years are worth celebrating; the company is therefore worth studying.

3.6 Employee participation at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc

In accordance with the provisions of The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979 Section 37 and The ILO Convention 83 and 98 of 1949, the junior workers of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc belong to an industrial trade union which is referred to as The National Union of Food and Beverages and Tobacco Employee (NUFBTE). NUFBE is affiliated to the Nigeria Labour Union (NLC). There is a plant union at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc with the executives elected after every four years with a maximum of two terms. The Chairman is the chief executives assisted by seven executive members; these include the Deputy Chairman, the General Secretary, the Assistance Secretary the Financial Secretary and his assistance as well as the Welfare Officer as well as an Assistant Welfare Officer. The plant union can negotiate with management on certain issues like the canteen, the company bus arrangements, night allowances etc while important issues such as salary increase and other working conditions are left to the Industrial Union.

The senior staffs are under the Food, Beverage and Tobacco Senior Staff Association (FOTOB) with the national headquarters at 32, Isaac John Street, Igbbi Fadeyi, Lagos. All senior members of staff except the Directors are members of this association. The association is manned by a seven elected executives; they are elected on a four year term with a maximum of two tenures. They negotiate directly with management on wider issues like recommendations to commercial banks for car loans as well as house

mortgages from the mortgage banks; but important issues like annual salary increase and other conditions of employment are left in the hands of the Industrial Union. It should be pointed out that the industry-wide national collective bargaining system still in use at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc has been done away with at Cadbury Worldwide (UK) since the late 1980's; it was replaced by the on site/ business unit negotiations. From the above, it is interesting to note that while employees at Cadbury Worldwide UK are allowed to bargain on 'all issues', their counterparts at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc have restrictions; very important and strategic issues are left for the industrial union. In this century workers are still not allowed to negotiate on 'all issues' at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc even when they belong to the same multinational group. The impact and the result of this and other related issues will be discussed in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

3.7 Multinational enterprises

Brooke & Remmers (1978) define a multinational company as a company that has productive activities other than marketing in more than one country. They (1978) later broadened the definition to include any firm which performs its main operation, either manufacture or the provision of a service in more than two countries. Jones (2002) defines a multinational enterprise as one which undertakes direct foreign investment; it will own or control income-earning assets in at least more than one country, and in doing so will produce goods or services outside its country of origin; it must engage in international production. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (1975) suggests that a multinational company is one whose enterprise involves more than one nation and that these activities may refer to assets, sales, production, employment or profits of foreign branches or affiliates. This source went on to state

that most of these multinational companies are engaged in extractive and manufacturing activities.

Dunning (1975) perceives multinational firms as firms which own and control income-generating assets in more than one country. He (1975) also states that these multinational companies account for one fifth of the world's output excluding the centrally planned economies in 1971. He (1975) further stated that in 1971, of the 613 World's largest companies, 437 accounted for four-fifths of the World's total sales and operated three or more foreign producing affiliates. He (1975) concludes that multinational corporations are among the most powerful economic institutions yet produced by private enterprise system.

One fact is common to all multinational enterprises and this is that business is carried out in other geographical areas outside the area of origin (Caves, 2007). Dunning (1988) enumerates the following justifications for this geographical movement: (1) capital is available in one geographical area while other factors of production like labour, or raw material are available in another geographical area or areas. (2) The scarcity or non availability of raw materials could be the push factor to wherever they could be found; this position is more justified if the costs of transporting the raw materials are enormous. For example British Telecom shifted its call centres to India; because most Asian countries have labour in abundance due to the high populations, therefore labour is cheap; this is the pull factor (Taylor and Bain, 2005; Getty, 2005).

(3). A company located in one geographical area could be contacted or invited by other business men (women) in another area to start production in their geographical

area(s). (4). A company may take over companies that already have interests in other countries and some companies might go abroad if their valued customers move abroad. Such companies include banks, insurance companies, accounting firms and management consulting firms. (5). Some countries might ban the importation of some goods. (6) The foreign manufacturers of such goods in order to protect their market will have no choice than to move abroad especially if the host country offers some tax concessions like tax holiday, and zero duty on machineries. This might be a way of encouraging industrialisation in the host country; if competitors move abroad others in the same industry will have no choice than to move too.

(7) Companies might move to avoid the problems of commission agents or want to protect their patent rights. Companies operating in countries with strong currency might buy up companies operating in countries with weaker currency cheap; this could be an inducement to move abroad. For example Japanese companies are recently going abroad because of the fact that their currency (yen) is presently (2008) very strong compared with other currencies; and some companies were discovered to have moved abroad just for the prestige associated with operating abroad (Gorg and Strobi, 2001).

There are no agreements among scholars as to whether authority should be delegated to workers in subsidiary companies or not; there was a general clamour for decentralisations or delegations of authority to the subsidiaries - in the 1960s (Goldsmith and Newton, 2006). There were also those who believed that with the present breakthrough in technology through the use of computers, air travel and telephones there was no need for decentralisations and that centralisation was a better

way, especially when it involved use of funds, planning and cross-frontier rationalisation (Zielinski, 2006). Research and Development in most cases are treated as a centralised issue as decentralisation will be very expensive (Goldsmith and Newton, 2006). This is usually based in the home country while the subsidiary companies are allowed to carry out some research especially if it involves marketing (Dunning and Lundan, 2008). This is because local customs and local outlook might be important in the package of a product. For example, some predominantly Muslim communities (for example Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iran and Syria) might frown at a nude photograph of a lady being displayed on the wrapper of toilet soap as is practise in the western countries (for example the United Kingdom, Germany, USA, Canada and France) (*Marketing Today*, March 2008).

The personnel functions are expected to be decentralised; this is because labour legislations and trade union negotiations vary from country to country (Hoggett, 1991). This is not to say that instructions in form of advices from the parent companies do not filter in once in a while or even frequently making it cross the thin border between decentralisation and centralisation or make distinction between the two difficult (Walsh, 2007). Industrial relations problems are also in most cases decentralised because most decisions taken in multinational firms are constrained by local laws and other local influences; there are some local organisations like the Employers' associations that have local laws that all companies in that countries or region must abide with (Goldsmith and Newton, 2006).

There are arguments for and against centralisation and decentralisation: it was said that centralisation destroys initiative and does not spread pressure of work between

the head office managers and the subsidiary managers while decentralisation is usually said to be expensive and causes duplication of functions (Hoggett, 1991). This could be because communication and the equipments which enable information to pass across rapidly and aid decentralisation could be very expensive (Birkinshaw and Hood, 1989). In conclusion, it is obvious that there existed a thin line of separation between centralisation and decentralisation and it will be difficult to pin down the successes or failures of a company to its centralisation or decentralisation of functions as other factors do come into play (Hoggett, 1991). For example, companies tend to do well when the economy is experiencing a boom and most companies will have problems during recession irrespective of whether they centralise or decentralise functions.

Multinational enterprises always strive to have competitive advantages over one another and they have devised various strategies (Brooke & Remmers, 1978; Dunning, 1975, 1988; Caves, 2007). Jackson and Deeg (2008) quoting Ghemawat (2007) identify three distinct types of such strategies as: aggregation of activities based in a home country or the export of home country management practices abroad to achieve standardisation and economies of scale and scope; adaptation to diverse host country environment; or arbitrage through selective specialization of activities in different locations. Lee and Beamisk (1995) state that the successes of any of these strategies depend on the precise types of national institution or distance from the host country. Jackson and Deeg (2008) argue that there was a need to focus on country-specific aspects of multinational enterprise strategies.

3.8 Summary and conclusion

There is no doubt that Cadbury Worldwide is a multinational company and from the humble beginning of selling of tea in a small shop in Birmingham to becoming what it is today; it is therefore worth studying. There is no doubt that the religion – Quakerism - of the founding fathers contributed immensely to the success of the company; this demonstrated that culture plays a prominent role in the management of people and resources. The next chapter will discuss the methods and the methodology employed in the study.

Chapter Four: Methodology and methods

4.0 Introduction

A multi-method approach using case study methodology will be employed in this study following the traditions of Denzin and Lincoln (1994); this is as a result of three main reasons: first is to ensure validity and reliability as much as possible as the weakness of one method might be the strength of another method. One method will therefore be used to improve another method; secondly each of the methods is expected to afford different nuances or insight which will make the ultimate result richer; thirdly one method is expected to lead to another sequentially, and this is expected to make the findings more robust than if one method is used alone (Whitfield and Strauss, 1998:24).

This chapter will establish a link between the gap in the literature and the research questions as well as establish the rationale for the research questions in addition to justifying the research methodology, research methods, techniques, strategies and the research design. The limitations and strength of the research techniques and methods employed will be addressed. The chapter concludes with the mode of data gathering, justifies the use of the various data collection techniques, and establishes the relationships between the working propositions, and the core theme. The research questions to be addressed are stated below as a reminder:

- Do socio-cultural factors play any significant role in the transfer of the British employment relations system to the former colonies? **(KRQ 1)**
- Do British multinational companies (MNCs) pay particular attention to differences in the socio-cultural, economic and political realities of Britain and the host countries while transferring the British employment relations system

to the host countries – mostly former British colonies- in which they operate?

(KRQ2)

- How does colonialism influence the replacement of employment relations system in Nigeria? And are the problems underpinning the replacement of employment relations system in Nigeria related to the legacy of colonialism?

(SRQ3)

- What is the impact of ‘Federal Character’ on the employment relations policies and practices in Nigerian multinational companies? **(SRQ4).**

4.1 Trends and development of research methods in employment/industrial relations

Employment/industrial relations is a relatively new discipline, which explains why Kochan (1980:1) still refers to it as ‘a broad interdisciplinary field of study and practice that encompasses all aspects of the employment relationship’. Despite the fact that it was referred to as ‘a broad interdisciplinary field’, researches were for a long time restricted to the study of the institutions especially trade unions and trade unionism, later to the study of collective bargaining and this subsequently led to the study of other related institutions (Kochan, 1998 in Whitfield and Srauss, 1998). Researches in employment/industrial relations soon after shifted to union-management relations including causes of frictions, functioning, and impact in a particular country (Kochan, 1980).

In the last few years, researchers started to broaden their scopes ‘to include the entire world of work-issue’ such as ‘high performance, work practices, occupational health

and safety, employment discrimination, employee satisfaction, job security', and very recently attention is being shifted to comparative international industrial relations (Ibid,1998:5). The comparative international perspective and approach are needed now to enable the discipline to create advances in industrial/employment relations theory (Kochan, 1998:41). This study is grouped under the comparative international industrial/employment relations researches as it examines the transfer of the British Voluntarists employment relations practice from the UK to Nigeria and other former British colonies.

Just as the scope was broadening, the research strategies and methods were also broadening; earlier researches were confined to 'institutional descriptions, historical narrative, case studies and simple descriptive statistics' but today's researchers in the discipline have expanded their technical skills to include those of 'ethnography, laboratory experimentation, legal analysis, and the sophisticated statistical analysis of massive data sets' (Ibid, 1998:6). This is because the discipline now competes with many other more established disciplines like economics, law, sociology, history and political science in the study of labour and employment issues (Kocham 1996).

Kuhn (1970) suggests that for a paradigm to be satisfactory in the social science, it must be conceptualisable, explainable, and be capable of solving some set of problems better than other alternative paradigms. The normative foundations features of employment/industrial relations research makes it stand out among other social science disciplines according to Kochan, (1998), the discipline could therefore be able to pass Kuhn's (1970) test. Kochan (1998: 32-38) further identified the following enduring features of employment/industrial relations research: problem-centred

orientation, multidisciplinary, attention to history, multi-methods approach and normative assumptions. This study has tried to incorporate most of these enduring features as it is an international comparative historical analysis of the transfer of the employment relations practice of Great Britain to Nigeria in particular and other former British colonies in general.

4.2 Linking the gap in the literature review with the research questions

Research questions (a reminder)

- Do socio-cultural factors play any significant role in the transfer of the British employment relations system to the former colonies? **(KRQ 1)**
- Do British multinational companies (MNCs) pay particular attention to differences in the socio-cultural, economic and political realities of Britain and the host countries while transferring the British employment relations system to the host countries – mostly former British colonies- in which they operate? **(KRQ2)**
- How does colonialism influence the replacement of employment relations system in Nigeria? And are the problems underpinning the replacement of employment relations system in Nigeria related to the legacy of colonialism? **(SRQ3)**
- What is the impact of ‘Federal Character’ on the employment relations policies and practices in Nigerian multinational companies? **(SRQ4).**

There are numerous comparative employment/industrial relations studies between the economically developed countries of the world while unfortunately there are very few

if any comparative employment/industrial relations studies between these economically developed countries and the economically developing countries of Africa. Unfortunately, the continent is now seen as the hope of future global economic growth mainly because the continent is endowed with enormous minerals, natural and human resources who are yet to be tapped (Ake, 1996). This study aims to bridge this gap in the literature.

The employment relations practice in Nigeria today is fashioned after the British Voluntarist employment relations practice which was developed in line with the British socio-cultural, economic and political realities which replaced the former Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations practice which was developed in line with the Nigerian socio-cultural, economic, and political realities (Florence, 1957; Ubeku, 1993). These differences in the socio-cultural, economic, and political realities between Nigeria and Great Britain as well as the differences in the socio cultural, economic and political realities between the various ethnic groups merged to become Nigeria, accounted mainly for the problems and challenges faced by the transfer both during the process of the transfer, (during the colonial period) and after the transfer, (after the political independence of 1 October 1960). It should be stated that other management practices like political democracy transferred faced similar challenges all because of the differences in culture between the country of origin, Great Britain and the country of destination, Nigeria.

This was because the British Voluntarist employment relations practice developed from the laissez-faire employment relations system which came about because of the socio-cultural, political and economic philosophy of the time of the Industrial

Revolution of the late 18th century and the early 19th century (Florence, 1957). Laissez- faire attitude upheld the sacredness of the liberty of the individual which was based on the Benthamite Utilitarian principle which was that the individuals knew what was in their interest and if left alone would pursue and maximise those interests, the society would be better off because maximum good would be achieved for the maximum number of people (Flanders, 1974). This was also the basic philosophy behind the economic policy of the British free enterprise which also embraced the individual freedom of contract (Flanders, 1975).

The State is not expected to intervene in the employment relations practice; the forces of supply and demand were virtually left to determine wages as well as other prevailing working conditions at an economically and socially acceptable level for both workers and employers (Furner and Supple, 2002; Hyman, 2003; Sek Hong, 1982). The British Voluntarist employment relations practice thrived on the principles of equality of workers and employers, political democracy, industrial and economic democracy (Flanders, 1974). Trade union organisations were and are still officially recognised in the workplaces just as opposition parties were and are still officially recognised in the political system (Yesufu, 1982; Florence, 1957; Flanders, 1975).

This was unlike the pre-colonial Nigerian Paternalist employment relations system where the head of the family was all-in-all; he did not consult the workers who were mostly family members before taking any decision including those of rewards and punishments and even those that concerned the personal lives of the workers/children (Iwuji, 1968). The head of the family decided when and who the children/workers

could marry, the pre-colonial Nigerian employer had absolute economic, political and social powers (Ubeku, 1993).

The issue of equality of workers and employers was the major dividing line between the Nigerian pre-colonial Paternalistic employment relations practice and the British Voluntarist employment relations practice (Iwuji, 1968; Yesufu, 1982). Recruitments, selections and promotions are based on merit in the British Voluntarist employment system (Flanders, 1974). While in the pre-colonial Nigerian Paternalistic system the employer – the family head - decided who was to be employed as well as the reward system; if it pleased him, he rewarded the sons of the favoured wife more than others, even if they were younger and less competent (Ubeku, 1993). Recruitments, selections, and promotions were therefore at the discretion of the employer/ head of family and not necessarily on merit (Davies, 1997; Iwuyi, 1968).

So many scholars including Burns (1900), Ubeku (1993), Iwuji (1968) Ananaba (1969) and Yesufu (1982) as well as most Nigerian politicians such as Awolowo (1947, 1960, 1966, 1968) Balewa (1962, 1964) and Balewa (2002) ignored the differences in the socio-cultural, political and economic realities between Nigeria and Great Britain on one hand and between the ethnic groups merged together between 1906 and 1914 while analysing the problems in the country's employment relations practice, political instability, as well as the corrupt economic system (Crowder, 1986). This oversight is one of the focuses of this research as well as one of the identified gaps in the literature.

The attempt to study these contradictions brought about the ‘**Key research questions**’ stated below (a reminder):

- Do socio-cultural factors play any significant role in the transfer of the British employment relations practices to her former colonies? (**KRQ1**)
- Do British multinational companies (MNCs) pay any particular attention to differences in the socio-cultural, economic and political realities of Britain and the host countries while transferring the British employment relations practices to the host countries – mostly former British colonies - in which they operate? (**KRQ2**)

The practice of this newly introduced/transferred British Voluntarist employment relations system became problematic shortly after the British colonialists left after granting political independence. Nigerians were therefore left to manage the crisis that was brought about by the imported employment relations system as well as other management practices like the political democracy. This led to the constitutional provisions of the concept of ‘Federal Character’ and this was what informed the ‘**Sub research questions**’ also stated thus:

- How does colonialism influence the replacement of employment relations practices in Nigeria? And are the problems underpinning the replacement of employment relations practices in Nigeria related to the legacy of colonialism? (**SRQ3**)
- What is the impact of ‘Federal Character’ on the employment relations policies and practices in Nigerian multinational companies? (**SRQ5**).

In order to do justice to the above research questions some research strategies were put in place which will be discussed below.

4.3 Research strategies

This section deals with the methodological positions of the study as well as justifies the positions; it also deals with the research strategies and the research techniques employed in this study. This research is qualitative (Bannister *et al.* 1994), employing the Creswell's (1998) political scientist's case study traditions, and using the interview technique. The study is an international comparative case study relying on the historical method; the qualitative data will be obtained during various interviews. The study will therefore be a synthesis of the statistical and historical methodologies following the traditions of Creswell (2009) and Fisher (2006). This is because the research questions (as stated above) deal with the process of introduction, transfer and replacement of employment relations system over a long period of time.

The interview technique was employed for the data collection/gathering following the traditions of Gubrium and Holstein (2003); Hollway and Jefferson (2000) and Kvale (1996). This study being historical will rely heavily on secondary sources of information following the traditions of Zikmond (1984) and Stewart and Kamins (1993). The secondary source will include Governmental documents from the pre-colonial period through the colonial period, through the independent years, and through the various military regimes in Nigeria up till the present civilian dispensation. The study also relied on secondary sources – archival records and documents because the research extends from the pre-colonial period and some of the actors have died while some of the major events cannot be remembered, especially since human memories are short (Stewart, 1993). The study also tested Hofstede's (1980, 2001) theory. In order to be able to synthesis the above strategies some propositions were put in place which will be discussed below.

4.4 Working propositions

The propositions below will not be turned into hypotheses to be tested as in most quantitative studies; as this study is a qualitative one. The propositions will only serve as ‘working hypotheses’ to be used as guides since the narrative analysis strategy of data analysis following the traditions of Riessman (1993) will be employed. The first proposition is: ‘the more industrialised a country is, the more democratised politically and the more the clamour for industrial/economic democracy in the workplaces in the country’. This is based on the works of Kochan & Osterman (1994) Tower *et al.* (1987); Hyman & Mason (1995).

All these scholars established a strong relationship between industrialisation, political democracy and industrial/economic democracy. Hyman and Mason (1995) further distinguished between the concepts of participation in decision making and mere involvement in decision making processes. They (1995) recommended participation because this is the nearest to the real participation in the political democracy where people elected those to govern them and periodically. It is also in the process of industrialisation that many people were brought into wage employment and a distinction between owners of capital and those who only have their labour to sell emerged (please see chapter one).

Industrialisation relies on technology and this is enhanced by education; it is not therefore a coincidence that the most economically developed countries are also more technologically developed (Gawande, 2004). This is also reflected in the proportion of the countries GDP allocated to education and access to education (Lall, 1992). Education liberates the people as they ask for their rights and demand to be fairly and

equally treated (Bantock, 1968). Industrialisation of the world started in the UK through the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th century and this and other factors could account for why the United Kingdom is more industrialised than Nigeria as well as some other former British colonies (Crafts, 1985); United Kingdom is also more technologically developed and the amount of resources allocated for educating the citizens more than that of Nigeria (Madu, 1988).

The second proposition is: ‘the more the practice of political democracy is enshrined in the society as a whole the more likely the clamour for industrial/economic democracy in the workplaces’. This is based on the works of Rugman and Hodgetts (2000); they concluded that except in Japan, there is always a strong relationship between political democracy and industrial/economic democracy. This proposition has been formulated because both practices – political democracy and industrial/economic democracy - were transferred to Nigeria without any considerations for the differences in the socio-cultural, political and economic realities of the two countries as well as without any consideration for the differences in the socio-cultural, political and economic realities of the different ethnic groups that were merged together and named Nigeria between 1906 and 1911.

The failure of the introduced political democracy manifested through the various military coups which invariably led to the civil war of July 1967 to January 1970, and the various rigging of elections as well as political and financial corruptions (Yesufu, 1982). The failure of the British type of political democracy could account for the failure of the British type of industrial/economic democracy and invariably the failure of the British Voluntarist employment relations system in Nigeria (Ubeku, 1993).

This is because the same people in the larger society are also the same people in the workplaces. The attempt to correct these series of failures led to the constitutional provisions of the 'Federal Character' (employment based on state of origin rather than merit) which rather than solving the problem brought about more problems for the newly introduced British Voluntarist employment relations system.

The third proposition is: 'the more the industrial/economic democracy, the more the industrial peace, the more the industrial stability, and the higher the productivity'. This is based on the works of Heller (1998) who established a strong relationship between industrial/economic democracy and productivity. Industrial/economic democracy is expected among other benefits to reduce frictions between management and workers (please see chapter two). This proposition is to investigate how and why Nigerian workers who for socio-cultural and economic reasons are not likely to participate actively in the political democratic processes as well as industrial/economic democratic processes will be productive in their various work places. Table 4.5 (See below) presents the propositions, the sources and the core themes.

The fourth proposition is: 'the farther away the Hofstede's (1980, 2001) 'power distance', the more likely will the managers see themselves as 'lords' and see the workers as 'servants' or subordinates; the nearer the Hofstede's (1980, 2001) 'power distance' the more managers see the workers as colleagues and partners in progress'. Hofstede (1980, 2001:83) perceives 'power distance' as a 'measure of the interpersonal power or influence between B and S as perceived by the less powerful

of the two'. The less powerful in this study is the worker while the more powerful will be the manager.

4.5 Interview instruments: relationships of 'working propositions' to the literature review and the key research questions

Working propositions	Definition	Sources	Core themes
Working proposition 1. Relationship between industrialisation and industrial democracy. "The more industrialised a country is, the more the clamour for industrial democracy in the workplaces in the country".	Industrialisation makes people to be well informed and very eager to participate in the election of those that will govern them politically as well as economically.	Kochan & Osterman (1994) Tower <i>et al.</i> (1987) Hyman & Mason (1995)	Kochan & Osterman (1994): the authors pointed out that there had been a statistical increase in workers participation in decision – making process, but not in the strategic decision making areas. Towers <i>et al.</i> (1987): They identified three forms of workers' participation: cosmetic, distributive and incorporative and concluded that most participation is cosmetic. Hyman & Mason (1995): They differentiated between the concepts of workers participation and involvement in decision making process and recommended the former.
Working proposition 2 Relationship between political democracy and industrial democracy. "The more a society is politically democratised, the more the clamour for industrial democracy in the	In societies where political democracy is well enshrined the people 'carry' the political culture to their workplaces	Rugman & Hodgetts (2000)	Rugman & Hodgetts (2000): They claimed that in most countries except in Japan industrial democracy is linked to political democracy. In Japan industrial democracy is linked to family culture. The management is seen as the head of the family while the workers are the members of the family and both must work together for the survival of the family –the company

workplaces.”			
<p>Working proposition 3. Relationship between industrial democracy and industrial unrest. “The more the industrial /economic democracy inform of participation of workers in decision making, the more the industrial peace, the more the industrial stability, and the higher the productivity”,</p>	<p>The participation of workers in the decision – making process in their various workplaces helps to bridge communication gap between workers and management and provides the necessary atmosphere to eliminate industrial unrest and invariably increases productivity.</p>	<p>Heller <i>et al.</i> (1998)</p>	<p>Heller et al. (1998) Participation of workers in decision making process helps satisfy ‘employees’ non-pecuniary needs including those for creativity, achievement and social approval. It also contributes to a sense of competence, self–worth and self-actualization’. It makes use of the whole person while at work and this increases productivity.</p>
<p>Working Proposition 4</p> <p>The fourth proposition is: ‘the farther away the Hofstede’s (1980, 2001) ‘power distance’, the more likely will the managers see themselves as ‘lords’ and see the workers as</p>	<p>Managers and workers are expected to be partners in progress and not a relationship of superior and subordinates.</p>	<p>Hofstede (1980, 2001)</p>	<p>Nonmangerial employees in some cultures treat the managers as superior and afraid to to disagree with their managers. This originates from the national cultures (for example Nigerian culture) whereby the elders and those in power of authority are seen as been sent by God and they should be ‘feared’ as unto God. In some national cultures (for example the British culture), everybody is seen as equal while the managers are ‘respected’ but not ‘feared’ while the mangers see the workers as colleagues</p>

<p>‘servants’ or subordinates; the nearer the Hofstede’s (1980, 2001) ‘power distance the more managers see the workers as colleagues and partners in progress’.</p> <p>Hofstede (1980, 2001:83) perceives ‘power distance’ as a ‘measure of the interpersonal power or influence between B and S as perceived by the less powerful of the two’. The less powerful in this study is the</p>			
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worker while the more powerful will be the manager.			
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Source: Template provided by Prof. Nelarine Cornelius and developed by the author.

4.6 Qualitative methods

Parker (in Bannister *et al*, 1994: 2) defines qualitative research as ‘the interpretative study of a specific issue or problem in which the researcher is central to the sense that is made’. He suggested that qualitative research is only a part of a debate and not a fixed truth, as it is an endeavour to state the sense that could account for what we say and do. Qualitative methodology was defined by Creswell (1994) as an investigation process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in a natural setting. Creswell (1998) comes up with a more detailed definition by adding that it was based on distinct methodologies within traditions of inquiry.

Qualitative research methodology places a lot of emphasis on inductive approach in the relationship between theory and research with much attention being paid to the generation of theories (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). It is opposed to the practices and norms of the natural scientific model especially that of the positivists and will rather

pay more attention to how individuals perceive and interpret their social world. This is because the social reality is constantly changing (Bryman and Bell, 2007.) Denzin and Lincoln (1994) suggest that the research methodology as a multi-method approach involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter or discipline.

In other words qualitative researchers carry out their studies in the natural settings of those that are being studied; this is to be able to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Bryman and Bell, 2007). Users of this methodology collect a variety of empirical materials through case study, personal experiences, introspective, life story interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives (Patton, 1980). The methodology attempts to find out regular occurrences after a close observation and serious analysis of the research topic and then deduce from what they have found. This then relies on contextual findings which ultimately makes generalisation possible and increases the reliability and validity (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

Qualitative methodology is all about the ability to observe and being able to accurately describe, deduce and interpret the meanings of events occurring in their normal social contexts (Fryer, 1991). The researchers must be able to at least be competent to interpret what has been seen without under representation or exaggeration of events observed (Denzin, 1970; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Marshall and Rossman (1989) are of the opinion that the methodology allows as much as possible the observation of events as they take place and in their natural settings. Van

Maanen, (1983) suggests that life and everyday activity are discrete, enacted, smoothed, and made difficult if not impossible by persons going about their normal routines and that this can be easily investigated by employing qualitative research methodology/strategy.

Qualitative research methodology is usually recommended because of its mode of data collection, with emerging themes and idiographic analysis (Cassell and Symon, 1994). All the events being observed can be observed in their natural settings which present the researchers with a rare and unique opportunity to interact with the subject or subjects under study in their own environment which is their comfort zone and probably in their own native language or through interpreters (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975; Patton, 1980). The informants are therefore more relaxed and the researcher can go about the tedious work of carrying out researches without the stress that is usually associated with data collection, this is because data collections and data analysis now become flexible, yet the research will be reliable and valid. Creswell (1994) criticises this method of collecting data as being eclectic and with no one accurate way of going about it.

This research will identify the dislocation caused by the transfer of the British Voluntarist employment relations system and the replacement of the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations practice without due considerations to the differences in the socio-cultural, political and economic realities of Britain and Nigeria as well as the differences in the socio-cultural, political and economic realities of the different ethnic groups that were merged together to form the country –Nigeria.

Some of the above advantages of case study methodology made it useful for this study; more of this will be discussed below

4.7 Advantages of qualitative research method and justification for its use in this study

Qualitative methods are sensitive to their context and researches can be carried out in their natural settings; this brings with it three main advantages which are: that exploration can take place, hidden features can be brought out and processes can be examined in details (Eisenhardt, 1989). This study does not possess a theoretical framework from which hypotheses will be derived, any new idea or ideas found relevant will be easily incorporated and it is expected that some hidden features in the employment relationship of either Nigeria or the UK or even from both will be discovered during the one-to-one interview. The atmosphere is expected to be very informal especially with the junior workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and it is expected that some hidden features will be unveiled. The questions will be open-ended and in 'Pidgin' English - a Nigerian type of English language- to allow for in-depth examination.

Qualitative research method has been recommended by many scholars including Roy, (1954); Pfeffer, (1992); Wilkinson, (1983); Burawoy, (1985); Knights and Morgan (1991) and Kunda (1992), because it has been found useful when the study has to do with culture, change processes and power. This study is about the influence of culture on employment relations practice, the process of change of the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations practice to the British Voluntarist employment practice and the power interplay between the British colonial masters and the Obas, Chiefs, Emirs and

Obis in the early days of colonilisation and the power play in the modern multinational company – Cadbury Worldwide and Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. The limitations of qualitative research method especially as regards its use in this study will be discussed below.

4.8 Limitations of qualitative research method as regards to this study

Despite the above advantages of qualitative research method, there are some setbacks; these include the issue of generalisation: this is shared with quantitative research method too (Patton, 1980). For example, this study has generalised the issue of problems faced with the transfer of political democracy and the British Voluntarist employment relations practice to the former British colonies, unfortunately these problems were not faced in some former British colonies like New Zealand, Australia, India and Canada. Nigeria which is the case study has some characteristics which are unique to the country; this will make the issue of generalisation more problematic. For example, Nigeria has a population of about 150 million people with 250 ethnic groups with different languages, traditions and customs while Ghana one of Nigeria's neighbours and also colonised by Britain has a population of just 23million people with only 7 ethnic groups (Uzukwu, 1997; Johnson, 2001).

Secondly, this researcher is from the South Western part of Nigeria where the effect of the Nigerian 'Federal Character' - employment based on state of origin and not on merit - is badly felt because we were exposed to the western type of education brought by the Christian missionaries earlier than other Nigerians, we are therefore more employable than others especially those from the North. The removal of bias will be problematic and total transparency is not guaranteed but the researcher has

tried to minimise this as much as is humanly possible. Case study methodology; its history, definitions, explanations and its usage in employment relations researches will be discussed below.

4.9 Case study methodology: its history, definitions, explanations and its usage in employment relations researches

Case study approach to research originated in the early 20th century by the social scientists, and shortly after its inception, the field of medicine also used the research design (Tellis, 1997). The history of case study revolves around Malinowski (1922), Le Play (1864), and the faculty members of the Chicago School ((Hamel *et al.*, 1991). Malinowski a Polish-born Austrian was said to have taken refuge in Melanesia during the Second World War and used the opportunity to study the local population using the participant observation method and then generalised later; it was assumed that the local people studied shared a lot with others (Hamel *et al.*, 1991; Sahins, 1963).

Le Play (1864) cited in Higgs (1890) also used a single case to generalise on how the problem of social life can be perceived using case study approach. He (Le Play) was seen as the founder of sociological fieldwork and of the case study in France. Case study design was used extensively at certain periods and later suffered a period of disuse; it was first used in Europe, especially in France around 1934-35 (Tellis, 1997). This method of research was popularised in the USA by the Sociology Department of The University of Chicago: this was in the early 1900's up till 1935; this was the period of rapid migration into the USA and there was an urgent need for studies into issues of poverty, unemployment and other social problems associated with migration (Hamel *et al.*, 1991). Case study methodology was employed by interviewing the

actors while special attention was paid to comprehensiveness in observation, reconstruction, and scrutiny of the cases under study. Around this time, sociology professors from University of Chicago were using this method for their researches; it was also the time a movement within the discipline was attempting to make the discipline more scientific.

This led to some reservations from other disciplines and from other universities especially from The Columbia University; this caused some dissatisfactions and disputes between the two sets of professors and this was even made public (Hamel, *et al.*, 1993). The Columbia University professors won and this led to a lack of trust in the methodology and its consequent decline in popularity and usage (Zonabend, 1992). Hamel *et al* (1991) coming in to defend the methodology, found fault in the formative years of sociology as a discipline and not necessarily the tools - case study research design - used. The use of the concept was further developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967); -both were sociologists when it was used to create new theories in social sciences. The use and popularity had since spread to other disciplines from education to law, medicine, and recently to business (Straussa and Glaser, 1967). The concept will be defined and explained below:

Case study method is also referred to or written as case-study, and this method is used by nearly all the researchers but social scientists use this method more (Yin, 1984). Bryman and Bell (2007) suggest that case study methodology involves the study of a community, organisation or person in details after which, a research method or methods are then employed to collect the data; this might be through participant observation or through conducting interview, administering questionnaire or going

through the secondary data or even a combination of either or a combination of the methods stated above. There will always be a need to carry out studies or to conduct researches in this scientific age; case study is one of the numerous ways of conducting such researches; others include and of course are not limited to experiments, histories, surveys and analysis of archival materials (Yin, 2003). Each of these methodologies has its own advantages and shortcomings.

Using a particular methodology depends on the following three conditions: the type of research question(s), the control an investigator has over actual behavioural events and the focus on contemporary as opposed to historical phenomena; some researchers work on areas where researches have been conducted before, while some are about to break new grounds (Patton, 1980). For those who are working on areas that are not new, their motive might be to verify already held views or dispute them, while others work on comparatively imprecise areas with little or no experience to guide them (Selltiz, 1965).

For all the groups mentioned above, there will always be a need for an intensive study of selected examples to represent or serve as a unit for very intensive study. It is assumed that the totality of the samples bear a lot of resemblance and as it is impossible or cumbersome to study the whole, an in-depth study of small representative sample will therefore be sufficient (Yin, 2003). This is because as mentioned earlier, it was assumed that they share similar characteristics (Yin 1984a). This method is generally handy when the questions involved are that of why's and how's and the researcher has little control of events that are being studied and when

the focal point is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Selltiz, 1965).

The most cited technical definition of case study methodology especially when dealing with the scope of the subject is that of Yin (1984a; 1981b; 1989a; 1989b). He stated that a case study is a pragmatic inquiry that investigates a contemporary observable fact within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries of the observable fact and context are not clearly known. This is to say that the researcher using this methodology will be doing so because he/she intentionally wanted to cover contextual conditions because he/she believes that they might be very important to the observable fact of study. Yin (2002) further described case study as a research strategy, sometimes likened to an experiment, history, or a replication, though not like any particular type of evidence or method of data collection.

He (2002) further suggested that a case study method should be treated as a research strategy, an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context. He (2002) also stressed that case study research may involve single and multiple case studies, may include quantitative evidence, and relies on multiple sources of evidence and benefits from the prior development of hypothetical propositions. Lamnek (2005) while supporting him stated that case study, as a research approach, could be situated between concrete data taking techniques and methodological paradigms employed to identify a specific form of enquiry; notably, one which contracts with two other influential kinds of social research: the experiment and the social survey.

Kitay and Callus (1998: 103) define case study as 'a research strategy or design that is used to study one or more selected social phenomena and to understand or explain the phenomena by placing them in their wider context'. Flyvbjerg (2006) states that rather than using large samples and following a strict procedure to examine a limited number of variables, case study methods involve an in-depth, longitudinal assessment of a single instance or event. He (2006) concludes that the method made available a systematic method of examination of an event, of collecting data, analyzing information and stating the result.

Hamel *et al.* (1991) perceive case study as a well-known but disparate narrative form; it is a research method used frequently in law, education, history, medicine, psychology and administrative studies. It is also put into use in cultural description (as in this study), professional preparation, theory construction, biographic study, clinical diagnosis and policy analysis (Tellis, 1997). It can also be used when the research aims are describing, understanding, explaining and exploratory; which is what this study is all about. Rogers (1978) makes a clear distinction between case studies, case history and projects. He (1978) perceives case history as an occurrence or series of proceedings set in an organisational framework with or without a related environment. According to him the events may be described in full details and the main and subsidiary points will be elaborated on.

He (1978) further states that behaviour of the subjects in the case are described; reactions, responses and effects on other subjects are related, and events taken to a conclusion or to a point that will be irreversible. The example he cited includes medical cases, where symptoms were described, the probable and possible causes

suggested and invariably treatment is recommended. Prognosis will be recorded and the actual date the patient was discharged will be recorded too and if unfortunately the patient dies this will also be recorded. The problems will only come to light when the case material is subjected to a vigorous analysis. A conclusion may or may not emerge and this can be reversed. Other opinions either internally or even externally might be sought; nearly all business cases according to him belong to this category.

A case project on the other hand, included series of varied events that are set in motion in an organisational framework and this usually occurred in a distinct environment. Those involved in the study would be assigned a role in the study, or made to fill a particular vacancy or be made an external consultant. The argument is simply that if one is made a middle - level manager his views and recommendations are likely to be different from those of an external consultant. Feagin, *et al.* (1991) suggest that a case study is most ideal when a holistic and detailed investigation is needed. They (1991) conclude that case studies have been used in various investigations, particularly in sociological studies, but ever more, in instructions. The usage of case study research design in employment/industrial relations researches will be discussed below.

Case study design is still popular among today's industrial relations researchers because it helps to reflect the multidisciplinary nature of the subject and more importantly, it provides 'explanations and an understanding of complex social phenomena, for which case studies are particularly well suited' (Whitfield and Strauss 1998: 101). According to Kitay and Callus 1998 (cited in Whitfield and Strauss 1998: 101) 'case study is the most favoured research design used by industrial relations

researchers'. Case study design was used by the Webbs (1902) and their seminal work in the United Kingdom which was based on a thorough study of histories and practices of several trade unions.

Case study design was used by Lipset *et al.* (1956) to study democracy in a union; while Gouldners (1954b) used it to investigate wildcat strikes. It was used by Flanders (1964) to analyse Fawley productivity agreements. Boraston and Frenkel (1977, 1978) used it to investigate trade unionism in the workplace and the process of industrial action in an enterprise. Case study methodology was used for research purposes in management for example in the case analysis at Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company. It was employed by Whyte (1993) in the Street Corner Society. All these studies were all major and land breaking contributions to knowledge and case study design was employed. The benefits and the drawbacks of case study methodology will be discussed below.

4.10 Advantages and disadvantages of case study methodology

The major advantage of case study methodology is that instead of studying large samples, only a small manageable sample will be studied (Yin, 2002). It makes the study easier, cheaper, and saves a lot of time yet an in-depth study can be carried out while the result will be expected to be reliable and valid (Feagin *et al* 1991). Researchers who used this method discovered that the study of few instances produced a wealth of new ideas (Yin, 2002). In a study that involves large complex groups, this method is highly recommended as one only needs to select one or two samples for an in-depth study from the numerous groups and this study can still be said to be authentic, reliable and valid (Selltiz *et al*, 1965). This methodology

provides an organised way of looking at events, collecting data, analysing information, and reporting the results (Hamel, *et al* 1993). This method has been described as multi-perspective analyses because the researcher is not only able to consider the voice and the perspective of the actor, but also of the relevant groups of actors and the interactions between them (Feagin, *et.al* 1991). For example sociological studies on the homeless and powerless could involve interviewing government officials who are referred to as the elites as well as the powerless group -- the homeless people-, and by so doing the homeless has been given a voice (Yin, 2003).

Case study methodology has also been described as a triangulated research strategy by Snow and Anderson (1987); they (1989) suggest that triangulation can occur with data, investigators, theories and even methodologies. Denzin (1984) identifies four types of triangulation: data source triangulations - this is when a researcher is looking for a way the data will remain the same in different context; investigator triangulation -- this is a situation where several researchers are conducting researches into the same subjects; theory triangulation -- is a situation where researchers with different viewpoints interpret the same results: and methodology triangulation -- is a situation where one approach is followed by another, to increase confidence in the understanding.

The major disadvantage of this methodology is that of the issue of generalisation as the result may not be totally applicable in real life situations; this is to say that its conclusion cannot be generalised (Hamel, *et al* 1993). There could be instances where certain characteristics will be unique to the individual, groups of individuals and

social events and not shared by the generality (Gomme *et al.*, 2002). This criticism was quickly dismissed by Yin (1984; 1989a; 1989b; 1993; 1994) when he suggested that in analytical generalisation, previously developed theory is used as a template against which to compare the empirical results of the case study; it is therefore assumed that some small sample has been drawn from a larger universe of cases.

Another major criticism is that the method is not scientific, as replication could be very difficult if not impossible (Ellram, 1996). This was again defended by Yin (1984a; 1989b) and Stake (1995) when they came up with what was referred to as case study protocol. This could be done by simply developing a set of rules and procedures and the observance of these rules and procedures will enhance the reliability and the validity of the methodology. The issues included in the study protocol are field procedures, case study questions and a guide for the case study. The study protocol imposes a lot of discipline on the researcher and he/she will also be more focussed on the tasks and goals; the conclusion at the end of the day will be scientific and reliable. This brings us to the application of the methodology.

To make this methodology beneficial to students and researchers, Yin (1984) recommended that three conditions or guidelines must be met: the first is that the type of research question formulated must be compatible with the case study method; secondly, the scope of control a researcher has over actual behavioural events must be one that will accommodate the case study methodology; and thirdly the extent of focus on contemporary events must be compatible with case study methodology. In conclusion, case study methodology has gone through a lot of criticisms and scrutiny since its inception in the 1930s and it was not widely used then but today it is seen as

a very reliable methodology if well handled (Roger *et al.*, 2000). With the benefits and drawback enumerated and the guidelines for its use put forward by Yin (1984), we need to discuss how beneficial it will be to this study as well as the limitations.

4.11 Justifications and limitations for the use of case study methodology in this study

Case study methodology is best suited for this research because it is an interpretive account of the process of transfer of the British Voluntarist employment relations system to the former colonies and the problems created by such transfers from one cultural area to other cultural areas. This event happened hundreds of years ago and in very many geographically dispersed territories, it is therefore impossible to go round all these former territories; the only option is to pick one geographical territory and since it is only Great Britain that colonised these other territories, generalisation will be possible, and the results will be valid and reliable to a large extent.

For example there are fifty-three former British colonies, with about two billion people and spreading across five continents (Derek, 2000). To go round these former British colonies is impossible; there is therefore no alternative to case study methodology. Following the suggestions of Gummesson (2000: 84) that ‘general conclusion from a limited number of cases’ is possible in case study methodology, this author being a Nigerian and studying in the UK has chosen both countries as the case study and intends to generalise but care will be taken to identify areas where generalisation will be difficult if not impossible; this will serve as the limitation to the study.

Yin (1994) also recommended case study methodology for exploratory, descriptive and explanatory researches; this research is exploratory as scholars like Burns (1900), Ubeku (1993), Iwuji (1968), Ananaba (1969) and Yesufu (1982) have overlooked or underestimated the impact of the differences in socio-cultural, economic and political realities between UK and Nigeria and between the various ethnic groups merged together to become Nigeria while explaining or while accounting for the failure of the British- introduced political democracy and industrial/economic democracy. Secondly while a lot has been written about the comparative employment/industrial relations between the economically developed countries of the World only few (if any) of such studies existed between the economical developing countries of Africa and the economically developed countries of the World.

The study is descriptive because it is only to describe the process of transfer, challenges and failure of the transferred British Voluntarist employment relations practices to her former colonies. It is explanatory because the research is to explain as much as possible the process, the challenges and problems, the reasons and the outcome of the transfer. Kjellen and Soderman (1980: 28) recommended case study methodology when the research involves historical analysis; they are of the opinion that it is inherent to the 'nature of organisations and other social systems that some of their principal characteristics cannot be readily observed at a surface level. It is difficult to arrive at any conclusions without studying their behaviour over a fairly long period of time'; this study is by all means a historical analysis of how the British Voluntarist ERP was transferred to Nigeria and other former British colonies.

The fact that case study design lacks an accepted technique or procedure is one of the major critiques of the research strategy; moreover there are few published articles based on the research design that spell out the techniques employed (Ellram, 1996). This and some other disadvantage brought about the problem of validity and reliability of the research design. However, the amount of information gathered through an in-depth study of the case should be enough to enhance the validity and the reliability (Kirk and Miller, 1986).

Selection of the sample apart from being the disadvantages of the technique is also the main limitation; this is because it is not based on any sampling logic (Goldthorpe *et al.*, 1968). For example, this researcher is from Nigeria and studying in the United Kingdom. This influenced the choice of the case study; moreover he has carried out a study on Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc in 1986 as part of the requirement for the Mphil degree of the University of Lagos, Nigeria. The choice of the case study was therefore not based on any sampling logic but on practical consideration of access, resources and time as recommended by Yin (1994:6).

Despite the above disadvantages and limitations, case study is still widely used because of its validity and reliability especially from the in-depth study of the case; although the problem of replicating the finding often let case study design down (Hamel *et al* 1993). The possibility of some samples not sharing similar characteristics with others also makes the sample unique and generalisation is problematic which affects the validity and reliability of case study research design (Yin, 2003). The possibility of bias and gullibility is also one of the reasons for the doubts usually exercised while using case study methodology (Kirk and Miller, 1986).

This research is about the replacement of the pre-colonial Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations practices with the British Voluntarist employment relations practice during the colonial period and how its failure brought about the now problematic constitutional provision of the 'Federal Character': case study methodology will therefore be appropriate for the study. Since as mentioned earlier, the study is trans-cultural; cross –cultural case study will be discussed shortly.

4.12 Cross - cultural case study

This study is by all means a cross-cultural comparative case one as both the theme and the research questions have to do with issues of culture between the Nigerians and the British and the cultures of the various ethnic groups that comprise Nigeria. Culture has been defined as the entirely learned social behaviour of a given group of people which provided the systems of standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, and acting (Goudenough, 1981). Verhoeven (2000) adds that it also included the materials and figurative artefacts of behaviour, such as belief systems' conceptual machinery for ordering social arrangements, pre-existing structural and material attributes.

Hoebel (quoted in Shapiro, 1960) sees culture as the integrated sum of learned behavioural traits which are manifested by members of a society. Koontz *et. al*, (1988) suggest that culture is the general patter of behaviour, shared beliefs and values that members of a group have in common; this includes the learning as well as transmission of knowledge, beliefs and patterns of behaviour over a period of time.

Cross-cultural studies therefore offer the possibility of comprehensive research into distinct aspects of symbolic and learned aspects of human society in a way that was

focussed and detailed; it also allows for meaningful comparison between cultures (Berman, 1990). Cross-cultural case study is more than a research method or collection of methods because it focuses on the discrete holistic phenomena where the emphasis was on detailed description and depth of understanding; it is located within a general paradigm of qualitative examination (Pole, 2000). He (2000) concludes that cross-cultural case study is an approach based on empiricism and different from other approaches which only seek unsophisticated casual explanation of social process and social phenomena. Cross-cultural case study relies on a form of contextualised empiricism in which the case is directly related to a specific element of culture, and not just any form of abstracted empiricism in which the data and the case only exist just on their own (Brislin, 1976).

The researcher will be confronted with problems and challenges which will include being confronted with parts of the culture he is not familiar with, the problems of language and of ethnocentrism (Brislin *et al* 1973). The only way to get round these problems will be to remain unbiased as much as possible. The interviews in this study will be conducted in English language and the Nigerian 'Pidgin' English; since the workers, managers and some government officials to be interviewed in Nigeria are expected to be fluent in the two languages while the British workers and government officials are also expected to be fluent in English Language. The Nigerian 'Pidgin' English will be used to interview the workers in Nigeria. Alders' (1983) 'Typology of management studies involving culture' will be discussed below.

4.13 International comparative design and international comparative industrial/employment relations researches

Comparative design simply involves studying of two or more contrasting cases (Brishin, 1976). It demonstrates the logic of comparison as it implies that social phenomena can be better understood when compared in relations to two or more meaningful different cases or situations (Berma, 1990). This may be done by employing either quantitative or qualitative research strategy and the research design comes in very useful in cross-cultural or cross- national research as the one in view (Brishin, *et al* 1973). International cross-cultural researches involve collections and or analysis of data from two or more countries and it is assumed that culture is the main explanatory variable in the study or research (Bryman and Bell, 2007).

Hantrais (1996) is of the opinion that such researches usually take place when researchers intend to study particular issues or phenomena in two or more countries with the hope of comparing their manifestations in different socio-cultural environments using the same research instruments to either carry out secondary analysis of national data or to carry out an entirely new empirical study. The essence will be to be able to explain the similarities and the differences if any; or better still to be able to acquire a greater awareness and a deeper understanding of the social realities in different national contexts (Ibid, 1996). The issues or phenomena might involve institutions, customs, traditions, value system, lifestyles, languages and migration from one country to another.

Comparative international industrial/employment relations research is recently becoming very popular because of the 'growing interdependence of economies' and also because if the discipline intends to lay claim to being a scientific discipline, it 'must develop some principles that apply everywhere' (Strauss, 1998: 175 in Whitfield and Strauss, 1998). This study is about the transfer of the British Voluntarist industrial /employment relations system to her former colonies using Nigeria as the case study. The study will among other things investigate how and why the former Nigerian Paternalistic industrial/employment relations practice was replaced with the British Voluntarist industrial/employment relations practice and what could be responsible for the failure and how the failure manifests.

4.14 Alders' (1983) 'Typology of management studies involving culture'

Adler (1983) identifies six different approaches to cross-cultural management research. Management studies according to Ibid (1983) differ in the theoretical and management issues which they address, the assumptions as regards universality, in their dealings with similarities and differences, and in the methodological problems they confront. The six approaches are:

- Parochial studies: these are studies by the citizens of the countries about their countries, this is the most popular approach:
- Ethnocentric studies are studies which try to replicate management research in a country in other countries.
- Polycentric studies are studies which attempt to describe, explain and interpret the pattern of management practices and pattern in foreign country.

- Comparative management studies: these approaches try to identify those aspects of management practices that are similar and those that are different in cultures around the World.
- Geocentric studies: these focus on studying management practices which operate in more than one country. The focus is on areas of similarity among cultures around the World that will allow for multinational companies to have unified policies and practice for their operations worldwide and culturally synergistic studies: these are approaches which look at areas of universality of managements. This is the least common approach.

This study is located on Alder's (1983) comparative management approach because the research attempts to identify the aspects of management practices that are similar and the aspects that are different between Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and Cadbury (United Kingdom) Plc. and why the differences. As the study is about what happened during the pre-colonial era, the colonial era and post-colonial era, secondary sources of data collection came in handy; this will be discussed below.

4.15 Secondary sources of data collection: historical research method/approach; justification for the use in the study

Secondary data are data collected and recorded by someone else prior to and for purposes other than the current needs of the researcher (Harris, 2001). Secondary data are usually historical and already collected data that does not necessitate access to respondents or subjects (Ember and Levinson, 1991). This source of data collection is becoming very popular in business researches, market survey, facts- findings, model building, and among social scientists generally (Harris, 2001). The major advantage

of this source of data collection is in the fact that it is less expensive than the primary source of data collection; since it has already been collected (Zikmund, 1984).

If one also looks at the fact that nowhere in science do we start from the scratch, it is therefore a good source of proceeding with a research even if one will still have to go back to the primary source; there is something handy one can use as a starting point (Kaplan, 1964). One can also build on the researches already conducted by other people using the secondary source as the basis of judgement. There are some instances where only the secondary sources can be used and there was no way of considering primary source at all; for example a researcher conducting researches into events that happened a long time ago has no other choice than to depend on secondary source (Harris, 1991).

The major disadvantage is in the fact that a lot of care must be taken in using secondary sources because the data were not collected with the present study in mind, so it might not specifically meet the present researcher's needs; care must therefore be taken before making inferences and conclusions or else a lot of errors might be committed (Cowton, 1998). The present researcher must therefore ask himself/herself the following questions: Is the secondary data relevant to the present study? Is the subject matter consistent with my present research? Is the time period what is really needed? And do they cover my core interest area(s)?

Another major disadvantage of secondary sources is that the present user cannot confirm the accuracy of information and this affects its reliability; if there were errors in the secondary data, the present researcher will automatically inherit the errors

(Zikmund, 1984). In this study, this source of data collection will be heavily relied on because the events happened over a century ago and fortunately one of the parties involved –The British --, has a very good culture of keeping records of events. To avoid over-reliance on the British sources and to also remove bias, sources from the Federal Government of Nigeria will be consulted as much as practicable. To avoid over reliance on secondary sources, primary sources in form of interviews of workers and manager from Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and Cadbury (UK) Plc will be conducted.

Secondly, researches about the past are always problematic because the actors might have died or as people have short memories some and important events might be forgotten, moreover, it might be difficult if not impossible to address some issues because of the need to respect individual's privacy as well as the commercial implications (Cowton, 1998). For example the present management or administrators might not want to admit their roles in the past when things turned negative or provoked negative reactions, but history will expose this (Knox 1986; Shields 1995). Lyddon and Smith (1996) argue that mainstream industrial/employment relations researchers are ignoring historical methods; this is because since 1979 historical articles are rarely published in the British industrial/employment relations journals and in the two main industrial relations journals in the USA.

The research questions of this study clearly stated that the study is about the process of introduction and replacement of employment/industrial relations practice, so the descriptive and historical approach/method will more effectively address the question of process over a long period of time than any other research method/approach. The descriptive and historical method has been resulted to because Hopf (1944) (cited by van Fleet and Bedeian 1977) observes that descriptive and historical method are

beneficial because the historical point of view which is the point of view of change will enhance the understanding and extend the horizon. It will be difficult to find a more confident and clearer statement in support of descriptive and historical methodology than this. This is because Hopf's (1944) statement is based on the belief that the changing events and developments of the past provided understanding of the dynamics of ordered human enterprise (Whiting, 1964).

This type of research methodology is regarded as one that does not fit into either quantitative or qualitative research method; this is because it utilises elements of both within the same study, and this was reflected often in the research questions (Knox, 1980). This type of research methodology can also employ multiple variables for analysis; on the other hand it is unlike other methodology in that it requires only one variable, and in the present study the variable is the employment relations practice (Whitfield and Strauss, 1998). The four main purposes of secondary sources methodology are: to describe, to explain, to validate findings and to infer from all the findings having been validated to be true (Black and Champion, 1976).

Description emerges following the creative exploration, and helps to arrange the findings in an order that will help to be fit for explanations and these explanations can then be tested to validate the variables being studied and with the aid of description, knowledge is illuminated and facts that were ignored can now be brought to light and be better understood (Whiting, 1964). This method also helps in describing natural and man-made phenomena that will be very useful to other researchers and policymakers while prediction is also made easier at least to some extent (Borg and

Gall, 1989). The next section will discuss the research methods employed in the study.

Research methods for the study

Research methods according to Bryman and Bell (2003 : 480) ‘are ineluctably rooted in epistemological and ontological commitments’, the decision to employ participant observation for example ‘is not just about how to go about data collection but a commitment to an epistemological position that is inimical to positivism and that is consistent with interpretivism.’ This section will discuss how to go about the data collection and discuss the instrument to be used to analysis the data collected; the tool to be employed to analyse the data is narrative analysis which will be discussed below. The data analysis with be through the secondary sources as in Chapter Five (which will address the Research questions) and the primary sources as in Chapter Six (which will be used to address the Working Propositions). The narratives of interviews conducted will also be used to address Hofstede’s (1980; 2001:35) ‘cultural dimensions’.

4.16 Conceptualisation and measurement of variables

This study will be divided into two parts: data collection through secondary sources like newspapers, rare books and official documents from the British Library, Federal Government of Nigeria Archives and the ‘Quakers’ Friends Collections, Euston London and Cambridge. This will involve tracing the history of wage employment which brought about the British Voluntarist employment relations system to Nigeria, and the impact played by the first multinational enterprise, Royal Niger Company in Nigeria in the introduction of the British Voluntarist employment relations practice

and the eventual replacement of the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations practice. This source is also to help in the business history of Cadbury Worldwide and that of its founders. Secondary sources will assist in answering **KRQ1, KRQ2 SRQ3 SRQ4** and **SRQ5** as stated in Chapter Five.

Primary sources: This will be in two parts: the first part will be through narrative analyses of the interviews conducted and the second will be using the narratives from the interviews to test Hofstede's (1980, 2001:24-25) 'five dimensions of culture'. The interviews will involve interviewing workers and management at Cadbury (UK) Plc, Cadbury Worldwide and Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. The trade union leaders at the plant levels and at the national levels in both countries will be interviewed as well as officials of the government agencies of both countries. Some officials of NECA (Nigeria Employment Consultative Association) will be interviewed. Interviews will also be conducted with some civil servants in the Nigerian Federal Civil Service from the director level to the Permanent Secretary level, efforts will be focussed on their States of origin, the number of years it has taken to get to their current posts -- this is meant to throw more lights on the issues raised and to also operationalise the impact of 'Federal Character'.

Interviews from the primary sources will be used mainly to address the 'Working Propositions' as in Chapter Six. Participation of workers in rule making will be the central theme in the interviews at both companies – Cadbury (UK) Plc and Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc-- as the study is about employment/industrial relations practice; this will be measured through the activities of workers during the collective bargaining processes. Levels of participation of workers in rule/decision making will be assumed

to determine the degree of industrial/employment relations performances *ceteris paribus* (all other things being equal or held constant).

The following areas of rule making process will be of interest: Origins of the rules, that is, are they from the statute? From the employers? Are they through the process of collective bargaining? Or from customs and practices? The variations in the scope of different categories of rules in the two plants will be noted, this is to see how important the issues referred to the collective bargaining process are; do managements refer issues like management of canteens or the core issues in the plants for negotiation? The composition of members involved in the collective bargaining process will also be of interest: this will include the levels of education of the actors especially their negotiation skills; the frequency of collective bargaining will also be of interest. The primary sources will also be used to establish the relationship between political democracy and industrial/economic democracy.

Participation of workers will be defined as the involvement of workers in strategic decision making processes based on the works of Poole, (1989); Hyman and Mason, (1995); and Tower *et al.*, (1987). Workers always want to be involved in decision making processes especially those that have immediate or direct impact on them or their jobs. This is because: they (workers) see management as always wanting to maximise profits, managements are also seen as always wanting to maintain organisational power and this could be used for their (manager's) benefits alone (Guest, 1999) . Managements are agents of capital and concerned with the extension of control over the production systems; managements are also seen as sources of

specialist know how and they are always ready to exploit owners of labour – workers (Torrington and Chapman, 1983).

4.17 Conceptualising employee participation in organisation

Discussions of the concept of employee participation have in recent years dominated different discipline areas in the social sciences; most of these disciplines use the same terminology but the ‘meaning and form that participation can take varies considerably depending on the discipline’ (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2010:3). Scholars have been interested in participation in politics and the issue of the real form of participation (Pateman, 1970); some scholars study the relationship between participation and employee satisfaction at work (Blumberg, 1968); while others are interested in the link between participation and the notions of industrial citizenship (Clegg, 1960; Webb and Webb, 1902). The pioneering work at the Tavistock Institute (Heller *et al.*, 1998) or the Swedish experiments in work design (Berggren, 1993) opened a flood gate to other perspectives on the subject.

Some of these perspectives include: the HRM perspective (Watson, 2005); the industrial relations perspective (Ackers and Wilkinson, 2008; Kaufman, 2004); the legal perspective (Fudge, 2008); the labour process and Marxist perspective (Collins, 1998); and the economic perspective (Coase, 1937; Simon, 1951). This study will limit itself to the HRM, IR, Political and the Economic perspectives. Employee participation can also take various forms, these include direct employee participation (Dietz *et al.*, 2009; Dundon and Wilkinson, 2009); employee participation through collective bargaining (Appelbaum *et al.*, 2000; Berg *et al.*, 2004; Block, 2005); employee participation through the employer strategies towards non-union collective

voice (Gollan, 2000, 2001, 2007, 2009; Lloyd, 2001; Dundon and Gollan, 2007; Terry, 1999); employee participation through workers directors and workers ownership/cooperatives (Musa *et al.*, 1997; Taylor, 1980; Knuden, 1995; Clegg, 1979; Kluge, 2005); employee participation through non-union forms of employee representation Kaufman and Taras, 2000; Ozen, 1967; Gitelman, 1988); employee participation through the work councils: the European model (Biagi, 2001; Sorge, 1976; Wood and Mahabir, 2001); and employee participation through share ownership or economic democracy (Poole, 1989; Poutsma, 2001; Poole and Jenkins, 1990). This study will concentrate on employee participation through collective bargaining which involves the trade unions and to some extent economic democracy.

4.18 Narrative analysis: history, definitions, explanations and justifications for its use in this study

Denzin and Lincoln (1998) identify three traditional major social science approaches to textual-discourse analysis as: content analysis which is usually associated with - though not restricted to- quantitative studies, semiotics associated with structural tradition in literary criticism and narrative or discourse analysis which is usually associated with the current post-structural development in interpretative theory. This study will employ the narrative or discourse analysis for the data analysis following the traditions of Riessman, (1993); Labov and Waletzky, (2003); Geertz, (1973 & 1983); Cortazzi, (2008); Labov, (1997); and Cortazzi, (1993). Narrative analysis is a global phenomenon and the narratives of the world are numerous although it is 'first and foremost a prodigious variety of genres, themselves distributed amongst different substances – as though any material were fit to receive man's story' and 'able to be

carried by articulated language, spoken or written, fixed or moving images, gestures, and the ordered mixture of all these substances' (Czarniawska, 2004: 650).

Narrative is found in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, comedy, painting and cinema; it covers every age, in every place, and in every society (Riessman, 1993). Its origin is from the history of mankind and there is 'nowhere --- nor has been a people without narrative', all classes and all human groups have their narratives; it is therefore 'international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there, like life itself; all human endeavours and expressions are narratives or better still can be treated as narratives' (Barthes, 1977:79; Czarniawska, 2004: 649).

Narrative analysis started from the literary theory and spread to the humanities and social science including sociology, politics and political science (Fisher, 1984). Narrative is just a mode of communication; people tell stories to entertain or to teach or be taught or even just to ask for interpretation or to give interpretations to phenomena or incidents (White, 1973, 1987; Curtis, 1994; Silvers, 1995). Narrative knowledge explains a human's intentions as well as his deeds and 'situates them in time and space' while 'relating the world as people see it, often substituting chronology for causality' and mixing the objective and subjecting aspects (Czarniawska, 2004: 650).

Narrative analysis came into the fields of management and organisation theory because according to Perrow (1991), modern societies are becoming more organised beginning from the hospitals where we are born, to the schools we attended, the places we work and the undertakers that will take care of our burials and secondly

there existed close ties between culture and economics and presently the ties are becoming closer. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) state that document of experience can be analysed using the narrative analysis. The themes and issues that are reoccurring within them can be indicated, counted and interpreted (Geertz, 1983). There was also nothing stopping the researchers from narrating and analysing the account, temporal and dramatic structures of a text while abandoning the rigor of counting (Geertz, 1973). Narrative analysis is seen as interdisciplinary because it does not quite fit neatly into the boundary of any single scholarly field and therefore extends the interpretive twist in the social science (Geertz, 1973; Rabinow and Sullivan, 1979, 1987).

Narrative analysis became very popular because a lot of the realist assumptions borrowed from the natural science to social science in order to understand social life ended up being limiting in their usages and invariably not very useful (Godzich, 1989). A group of leading United States of America scholars out of frustration turned to narrative analysis as the organising standard for human action and other social events (Huberman and Miles, 2002). Todorov (1969) coins the term 'narratology' in an attempt to elevate the term to the prominent position of a new science (Godzich, 1989; Cortazzi, 1993: 2; Cortazzi, 2008). Cortazzi (1993: 2) suggests that narrative analysis can be 'seen as opening a window on the mind or ----- opening window of culture', Chafe (1990 : 79) sees it as overt manifestations of the mind in action: as windows to both the content of the mind and its ongoing operations'.

Mitchell (1981: 8) perceives narrative analysis as 'a means by which human beings represent and structured the world, while Fawcett *et al.*, (1984:20) define it simply as

‘a specific cultural system’. Bruner (1990: 35) suggests that it was an ‘organised principle’ by which ‘people organise their experience in knowledge about, and transactions with the social World’. Hardy (1987: 1) sees it as ‘a primary act of mind’ and Polkinghorne (1988:11) suggested that narrative analysis was the ‘primary scheme by means of which human existence is rendered meaningful’. Cortazzi (1993:2) concludes that narrative analysis became very important that scholars ended up regarding “naratology” as an independent discipline studying the theory of narrative texts’ (Todorov 1969; Prince, 1982; Chatman, 1988; Bal, 1982).

Huberman and Miles (2002) view research as story telling in other words; it is simply what we do with our research materials and what informants do with us; narrative analysis therefore simply takes as its object of investigation the story itself. The purpose of which is to demonstrate how the respondents in the interviews conducted imposed some order on the flow of their experiences in order to make sense of the events and actions in their lives (Prince, 1982).

Bryman & Bell (2003) suggest that narrative analysis is a method of gathering and analysing data that were seen as sensitive by the people without them knowing or offending them; this is done by them simply telling the stories of their lives to the researcher. The methodological approach simply examines the respondent’s story – they are referred to as the core informants in this study - and go ahead to analyse how it is put together that is the linguistic and the cultural resources it brings in and how this will convince a listener of its validity. Analysis is simply narrative as it opens up the forms of telling the interviewer about the forms of experiences and not necessarily the context of the language (Huberman and Miles, 2002).

After all, according to Stivers, (1993) nature as well as the World does not tell stories: individuals do; interpretations are therefore inevitable because narratives are representatives. Ibid (1993) concludes that there was no clear distinction in post-positivist research between fact and interpretation. Bruner (1987) perceives human agency and imagination as what determine what is incorporated and excluded in narratives, as well as how events are plotted and what they are supposed to mean. To Ibid, (1987) segment and purpose are responsible for building the events of life; individuals only become autographical narratives through which their life stories are told. These private constructions typically interconnect with a community of life stories with deep structures about the nature of life itself (Labov and Waletzky, 2003).

From the above features of narrative analysis, it is obvious that it will be best suited for this kind of research which is principally the ‘story’ or the ‘narrative’ of how the British Voluntarist employment relations system was transferred to Nigeria (and other former British colonies) and also the ‘story’ or the ‘narrative’ of how enduring socio-cultural issues could be because in as much as the British colonialists could lay claim to the successful transfer, socio-cultural factors still played a major role in the success or failure of the transfer. The research could alternatively have been titled: ‘The (tale/narrative/story) – of Two Cultures’ as it is a comparative narrative ‘story’ of two cultures, the cultures of Great Britain and Nigeria. The people to be interviewed will only be ‘narrating’ the story of their lives and this will be put in the proper perspective without them either knowing or offending them (Bruner, 1987; Huberman and Miles, 2002; Labov, 1997). Hofstede’s (2001:24) five cultural dimensions will be discussed below.

4.19 Hofstede's (1980, 2001) 'five cultural dimensions'

Hofstede (2001: xv) recognises that 'the survival of mankind will depend to a large extent on the ability of people who think differently' and that '----. International collaboration presupposes some understanding of where others people differ from us'. There is therefore a need to understand that there exists 'invisible cultural differences' which will go a long way in helping 'policy makers in governments, organizations, and insitutions'. With this fact in mind, Hofstede (2001: xix) explored the 'differeces in thinking and social action that exist among members of more than 50 modern nations' and he argues that people "carry 'mental programs that are developed in the family in early childhood and reinforced in schools and organizations, and that these mental programs contain a component of national culture'"; these 'mental programs' are usually 'expressed in the different values that predominate among people from different countries'(Hofstede 2001: xix).

He (1980:2001: xix-xx) identified at first four main areas of differences of national cultures, they are: (1). Power distance: this has to do with the degree to which the less powerful members of the organisation accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. The main issue is the degree of human equality that underlies the functioning of each society. (2). Uncertainty avoidance: this is the degree to which a culture programs its members to feel either uncomfortable in unstructured situations. Unstructured situations are novel, unknown, surprising, different from usual. The main problem has to do with the extent to which a society tries to control the uncontrollable (3). Individualism versus Collectivism: this is the extent to which individuals are expected to look after themselves or remain intergrated into groups; usually around families. This is usually problematic. (4). Masculinity versus

femininity: this has to do with how emotional roles are distributed between genders; it is usually problematic for most society to find a solution if it goes by the theme of 'tough' masculine and 'tender' 'feminine'.

He (2001: xx) later added the fifth cultural dimension which is: Long-term versus short-term orientation: this demotes the degree to which a culture programs its members to accept delayed gratification of their material, social, and emotional needs. It should be noted that Inkeles and Levinson (1954/1969) had predicted the first four cultural dimensions before it was empirically identified by Geert Hofstede and his team who worked with him on the IBM survey between from late 1973 to the end of 1978 (Hofstede, 2001:xv, 1).

4.20 Operationalisation of Hofstede's (1980, 2001) model and its usage in this study

This operationalisation will lead to qualitative measurements as this study is mainly qualitative, it will employ verbal (words) and nonverbal behaviour; it is assumed that 'words will predict deeds; the key constructs will be values and culture, values will be defined as 'a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others' (Hofstede, 2001:4-5). This is in line with Rokeach's (1972:159-160) definition: "-----". To say that a person 'has a value' is to say that he has an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence".

Values can be likened to Hofstede (1980, 2010) 'software of the mind' and are programmed early in our lives; value or 'software of the mind' deals with such things

as 'evil versus good', 'dirty versus clean', 'dangerous versus safe', moral versus immoral', 'irrational versus rational', ugly versus beautiful'. In this study, the narratives of the workers and managers to political attitudes in terms of voting behaviour and participation in trade unionism will be used to determine the relationship between political democracy and industrial democracy and the role of value in the day-to-day living of the participants; this is following the traditions of Eysenck (1953, 1954).

Culture has been severally defined in this study, but there is a need to add that the phenomenon manifests through values, symbols, heroes, and rituals; Values are invisible traits until they become apparent in behaviour (Hofstede, 2001:10). Symbols are unlike values, they are visible and noticeable traits for example, words, gestures, pictures, acts and objects that often carry complex meanings but recognised as such only by those who share the culture; symbols 'do not denote: They connote, suggest, imply' (Cohen, 1974:3; Griswold, 1994:19).

Heroes are 'persons, alive, or dead, real or imaginary, who possesses characteristics that are highly prized in a culture and thus serve as models for behaviours while rituals are 'collective activities that are technically unnecessary to the achievement of desired ends, but that within a culture are considered socially essential, keeping the individual and within the norms of the collectivity'; they are 'carried out for their own sake'; for example the ways of greeting and showing respect to others (Cohen, 1974:4). Culture should be differentiated from identity, the former manifests through the collectivity while the latter tries to answer questions such as where do I belong? It is therefore from the individual perspective; identity is 'based on mutual images and

stereotypes and on emotions' (Hofstede, 2001:10). This study will look at the impact of differences in national culture and differences in culture between the various ethnic groups merged to between 1906 and 1911 to become one country by the colonial masters on the transferred British Voluntarist employment relations practice. The narratives were collected employing face-to-face interview which will be discussed below.

4.21 Justifications for face-to - face interview

The face-to-face interview technique was adopted because only the 'core informants'- over sixty- two people will be interviewed. This sample is small enough although it was enormously time consuming as well as very expensive financially as the interviews were conducted in Birmingham, London, both in the United Kingdom;- Lagos as well as Abuja - both in Nigeria. As the study involves some emotional, sentimental as well as cultural issues there was a need to establish a rapport, probably probe a little further, take note of some body languages as well as some non-verbal communication, it would also guarantee confidentiality if not anonymity, and there was also a need for some in-depth discussions as well as some insights and understanding of the issues involved (Saunders *et al*, 2007).

Face-to-face interview will make it possible to get across to the not too educated Nigerian workers by conducting the interviews in 'Pidgin English', the Nigerian type of English language spoken generally by the educated, the semi-educated and the uneducated people. 'Pidgin-English' originated from the Niger Delta Region as a way of communicating with the early expatriate traders; it is simply a mixture of some words in English language with the native languages (Uzukwu, 1997).

There was also a need to establish some trust especially among the workers who might occasionally have not too complimentary comments about their managers or supervisors. For this kind of study, Gillham, (2004, 2005), and Burns, (2000) recommend face-to-face interview especially for its flexibility in terms of the possibility of observing the subjects as well as the total situation, granting the interviewer the opportunity to repeat or further explain the question(s), pressing the respondents for further response or clarification especially when they seem to be evasive or the answer seems incomplete or probably not relevant. This was one of the main reasons why semi - structured interview (which will be discussed below) was opted for.

4.22 Justification for semi-structured interview

Semi-structured interview is described by Bingham and Moore, (1959) as a conversation aimed at a purpose. Semi-structure interview technique was resulted to because the study is a comparative one, and according to Gillham, (2005) the same questions should be asked from both sets of informants, the kind and form of questions should go through a process of development so as to ensure that they focus on the study and also ensure equivalent coverage as well as allocate approximately equal interview time to all the respondents. As it is a flexible technique, some of the questions asked were open-ended. Some of them included: If you come to this World again will you work at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc? And why? Will you encourage your son/daughter to work at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and Why? The use of semi-structured interview technique and to a lesser degree unstructured interview technique made the use of narrative analysis possible.

4.23 Sample

Researchers have resorted to sampling because it would be impracticable to interview or send questionnaires to the entire study population; there were also financial and time constraints (Saunders *et al*, 2007). There are about 1800 workers at Cadbury Worldwide UK (Birmingham plant) and about 1200 workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc as at May-December 2008. To make the sample representative, workers from the various departments were interviewed as well as management staff. Twenty workers and two management staff - one British and one American- were interviewed at Cadbury (UK) Plc (Birmingham Plant). This plant was chosen because this was where John and George Cadbury started. Thirty workers and four management staff were interviewed at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc; efforts were made to interview workers from the various ethnic groups while one expatriate and three Nigerians management staff were interviewed.

Two representatives of UNITE - the trade union organisation the workers of Cadbury (UK) Plc is affiliated with - were interviewed while two representatives of National Union of Food, Beverages and Tobacco Workers Union the - trade union organisation the junior workers of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc are affiliated with - were interviewed and one representative of Food Beverages & Tobacco Senior Staff Workers Association (the national union of the senior staff) was interviewed. The Coordinator of Food and Beverages Division of Nigerian Employers Consultative Association – NECA the - Employers Association to which Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc is affiliated – and two consultants of NECA were interviewed; the Chairman of the Federal Character Commission, Abuja Nigeria was also interviewed as well as a Director in the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Labour, Abuja Nigeria.

4.24 The questions

The following questions were asked and follow - up questions were asked wherever necessary:

Proposition 1: The aim was to relate level of education to industrialisation process

How old are you and what is your highest qualification?

Do you participate actively in trade union activities in this company? (When last did you attend the union meeting? Do you vote during the union elections?) If no, why not?

Proposition 2: The aim was to find out the relationship between industrial democracy and political democracy.

Do you belong to any political party? Are you registered to vote?

When was the last time you voted? If no why did you not vote?

Are you aware that by voting you are deciding who to govern you?

Proposition 3: The aim was to establish a relationship between industrial democracy and productivity.

When was the last strike? How long? And what were the issues involved?

Were you given a 'strike allowance' by the union?

General questions:

If you come to this world again will you want to work for Cadbury (UK) Plc OR Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc (as the case may be)?

Will you encourage your son to work at Cadbury (UK) Plc OR Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc (as the case may be)

Proposition4: Questions to explain Hofstede's (1980, 2001) 'five cultural dimensions'

Do you fear your manager Or respect him/her?

Do you disagree with your managers?

How did you cope with the sacked directors especially with the fear that the company will be closed down?

How are you handling the issue of the sales of the company and the fear that jobs will be lost?

4.25 Interview instruments: relationships of ‘working propositions’ to the literature review and the key research questions

Working propositions	Definition	Sources	Core themes	Questions asked	Secondary Sources
<p><u>Working proposition 1.</u></p> <p>Relationship between industrialisation and industrial democracy.</p> <p>“The more industrialised a country is, the more the clamour for industrial democracy in the workplaces in the country”.</p>	<p>Industrialisation makes people to be well informed and very eager to participate in the election of those that will govern them politically as well as economically.</p>	<p>Kochan& Osterman(1994)</p> <p>Tower <i>et al</i>, (1987)</p> <p>Hyman & Mason (1995)</p>	<p>Kochan& Osterman(1994) : the authors pointed out that there had been a statistical increase in workers participation in decision – making process but not in the strategic decision making areas.</p> <p>Tower <i>et. al.</i> (1987): They identified three forms of workers’ participation: cosmetic, distributive and incorporative and concluded that most participation is cosmetic.</p> <p>Hyman & Mason (1995): They differentiated between the concepts of workers participation and involvement in decision making process and recommended the former.</p>	<p>How old are you and what is your highest qualification?</p> <p>Do you participate actively in trade union activities in this company? (When last did you attend the union meeting? Do you vote during the union elections?) If no why not?</p>	<p>Park, M. (1799), Travels in The interior Districts of Africa: (Performed under The Direction and Patronage of The African Association in the 1795, 1796 and 1787. Printed by Wi Bulmer and Company and Sold by Grand W. Nicol, Booksellers to His Majesty, Pall Mall 1799.</p> <p>Park, M. (1805), The Journal of a Mission To The Interior of Africa in the year 1805, (together with other documents official</p>

					<p>and private relating to the same mission). Printed for John Murray, Albemarle Street, by W. Bulmer and Company, Cleveland Road St, James, 1815.</p> <p>Copies of various ‘correspondences respecting Affairs in the River Niger and adjoining Districts’.</p> <p>Charter of Royal Niger Company.</p> <p>‘Proclamation of Niger Coast Protectorate’.</p>
<p><u>Working proposition 2</u></p> <p>Relationship between political democracy and industrial democracy.</p>	<p>In societies where political democracy is well enshrined the people ‘carry’ the political culture to their</p>	<p>Rugman & Hodgetts (2000)</p>	<p>Rugman & Hodgetts (2000): They claimed that in most countries except in Japan industrial democracy is linked to political democracy. In Japan industrial democracy is linked to family culture. The management is seen as the head of the family while the</p>	<p>Do you belong to any political party? Are you registered to vote? When was the last time you voted? If no why did you not vote?</p>	

<p>“The more a society is politically democratised, the more the clamour for industrial democracy in the workplaces.”</p>	workplaces		workers are the members of the family and both must work together for the survival of the family – the company	Are you aware that by voting you are deciding who to govern you?	
<p><u>Working proposition 3.</u> Relationship between industrial democracy and industrial unrest. “The more the industrial democracy inform of participation of workers in decision -making, the more the industrial peace, the more the industrial stability, and the higher the productivity”,</p>	<p>The participation of workers in the decision – making process in their various workplaces help to bridge communication gap between workers and management and provides the necessary atmosphere to eliminate industrial unrest and invariably increase productivity.</p>	<p>Heller et. al (1998)</p>	<p>Heller <i>et al.</i> (1998) Participation of workers in decision making process helps satisfy ‘employees’ non-pecuniary needs including those for creativity, achievement and social approval. It also contributes to a sense of competence, self-worth and self-actualisation’. It makes use of the whole person while at work and this increases productivity.</p>	<p>When was the last strike? How long? And what were the issues involved? Were you given any ‘strike allowance’ by the union? How much?</p>	

Source:	Template	provided	by	Prof.	Nelarine	Cornelius	and	developed	by the author.

4.26 Ethical considerations

Ethics is the ‘appropriateness of your behaviour in relation to the rights of those who become the subject of your work or are affected by it’ (Saunders *et al.* 2007:178). Blumberg *et al* (2005: 92) define ethics as ‘the moral principles, norms, or standards of behaviour that guide moral choices about our behaviour and our relationships with others’. Research ethics therefore involves how research topics are formulated and clarified, the nature of the research, designing of the research, collection of data, processing and storage of data collected, analysis of data and findings in a moral and responsible manner (Saunders *et al*, 2007).

This researcher is aware of the fact that since face-to-face interview would be employed in the collection of data, most of the participants would be concerned about the issues of confidentiality. This research was carried out at a challenging for Cadbury Worldwide, Cadbury (UK) Plc and Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. At Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc all members of the Bunmi Oni led-Board of Directors were recently sacked and replaced with expatriates’ managers so nearly all the workers were living with the fears of who was to be sacked next. At Cadbury Worldwide (international headquarters) and Cadbury Worldwide UK (Birmingham plant) the de-merger exercise was just completed and management was also thinking of outsourcing some departments especially the HR department, while at Cadbury worldwide UK the rumour of a purchase and closure of some factories was thick in the air. This brought in some elements of ‘*I do not want to be quoted*’ and this was respected by this researcher.

In order to minimise any negative impact on the participants, the British Psychological Guidelines as provided by the university -Brunel University- was followed and all necessary

documents were signed by the researcher (see the Appendix). Each participant was asked if he/she will want his/her name mentioned in the write-up and those who do not want to be named were not named in the write-up. Participants were also told that if at any stage of the interview they wanted to reconsider their participations they were free to and fortunately nobody opted out in the middle of the interview. They were also told that if they needed to add or remove any information given they could do so by contacting the researcher at a later date. All the participants therefore gave their informed consents freely without any intimidation and without been coerced while their confidentiality was guaranteed and respected.

4.27 Reliability and validity of the study

Reliability is related to the question of whether the results of a study are repeatable while validity has to do with the ‘integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research’ (Bryman and Bell, 2003: 33). Validity should therefore recognise subjectivity, emotionality and ‘antifoundational’ factors. These emerged from the fact that the researcher is seen an integral part of the research. This researcher is a Nigerian and therefore acknowledges the fact that qualitative research is essentially inter-subjective, but according to Denzin (1978a:28) ‘no single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors’. This research sought as much as humanly possible to come out with a reliable and valid outcome and this was why a multi-method approach was employed.

4.28 Limitations of the methodology and methods

The major short coming of the methodology and methods of this study is the fact that the interviews were conducted at a time Cadbury Worldwide was going through some challenges; workers including some managers were very apprehensive because of the fact

that at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc the Bunmi Oni led board of directors were replaced with expatriate managers. At Cadbury Worldwide UK (the Birmingham plant) the de-merger exercise was about to be concluded; the HR department was said to be soon outsourced and there was the rumour that a lot of staff will be sacked. This author had to guarantee the workers and some managers interviewed in both plants that he has no dealings with the management and the consultants and that he has come purely for academic exercise and also assured them that none of them will be quoted directly or indirectly. It must be stated that because this research was conducted at a very trying period both for Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and Cadbury Worldwide, most of the interviewees wanted to remain anonymous, and this was respected especially the management staff at Cadbury Worldwide UK as well as the trade union executives.

The case study, Nigeria cannot be said to adequately represent all the British former colonies and the failures of the transferred political democracy, industrial/economic democracy and the British Voluntarist employment relations system in Nigeria do not in any way mean that they have failed in all the former British colonies. For example India, Australia, Canada and New Zealand were former British colonies yet political democracy and industrial/economic democracy as well as the transferred British Voluntarist employment relations system have thrived and are still thriving very well.

What happened in Cadbury Worldwide and Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc cannot also be said to adequately represent what is happening in all the British multinational companies in Nigeria or in all the other former British colonies. For example Unilever (Nigeria) Plc is doing very well at least in Nigeria to the best of my knowledge and judging by its position on the Nigerian Stock Exchange, United Africa Company of Nigeria (UACN) – the company that

transformed from the Royal Niger Company- is also doing very well. The limitations are therefore methodological and not intentional. Research findings and interpretations will be presented in the next two chapters.

Chapter Five: Research findings and interpretations of findings: secondary data analysis

5.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the findings from the secondary sources as well as the interpretations of the findings; the research questions will be addressed through the findings from the various secondary sources following the traditions of Kohli and Jaworski (1990); Oliver (1989); and Kerin *et al.* (1992). The chapter therefore presents the findings obtained through the secondary sources from the pre-colonial era to the colonial era and up to the post- colonial era. As a reminder, the central theme of this thesis is the challenges faced by the transfer of the British Voluntarist employment relations system without any thought as regards the differences in socio-cultural realities of Britain (country of origin) and Nigeria (country of destination) as well as the differences in the socio-cultural realities of the various ethnic groups merged together to become Nigeria.

The various secondary sources include the following:, (Bryman 1789; Enemuo, 1999; Park, 1798,1799, 1805; Park and Rennell, 1799; Murray, 1815; Florence 1957; Ukpabi 1987; Tamuna, 1970; Kirk-Greene, 1968 Yesufu 1987; Ubeku 1983, 1984; Iwuji 1968; Craft 1977; Mobibbo, 1985; Ofonagoro, 1979; Hofstede ,1976, 1979, 1980, 1991, 1983, 2001, Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005, Hofstede and Bond ,1984, 1988, Leonards, 1996; Crowther, 1968; Burns and Burns; Reports of Constitutional Conferences, 1958, 1959, 1961, 1963). All the scholars mentioned above established the fact that socio- cultural factor is important in the transfer of management practices. While some of them agreed that the British colonial masters deliberately transferred the British Voluntarist ERP to Nigeria and other former colonies purely for economic/commercial reasons without any thought of the importance of the differences in socio-cultural realities between Britain and Nigeria (and most of the former

colonies) as well as the differences in the socio-cultural realities between various ethnic groups merged together to become one Nigeria. This chapter also deals with the linkages between the secondary sources and the research questions shown below:

Key research questions (to aid recall):

- Do socio-cultural factors play any significant role in the transfer of the British employment relations practices to the former colonies? **(KRQ 1)**
- Do British Multinational Companies (MNCs) pay any particular attention to the differences in the socio-cultural, economic and political realities of Britain and the host countries while transferring the British employment relations practices to the host countries – mostly former British colonies- in which they operate? **(KRQ2)**

Sub-research questions:

- How does colonialism influence the replacement of employment relations practices in Nigeria? And are the problems underpinning the replacement of employment relations practices in Nigeria related to the legacy of colonialism? **(SRQ3)**
- What is the impact of ‘Federal Character’ on the employment relations policies and practices in Nigerian multinational companies? **(SRQ4)**

5.1 Do socio-cultural factors play any significant role in the transfer of the British employment relations practices to the former colonies? (A reminder)

Socio-cultural factors played significant roles from two perspectives: the first was from the country of origin, of the employment relations practice; United Kingdom with a different socio-cultural background when compared with the country of destination – Nigeria. The second perspective is the fact that the ethnic groups comprising what is today known as Nigeria are from different socio-cultural backgrounds. As mentioned in Chapter One, the British Voluntarist employment relations system was fashioned after the socio-cultural, economic and political realities of the British; it will therefore be problematic to transfer such ERS to another cultural area bearing in mind that the Nigerian Paternalistic ERS was fashioned after the socio-cultural, economic and political realities of these Nigerians (Ubeku, 1983; Iwuji, 1968).

Secondly, these so called ‘Nigerians’ came from different cultural backgrounds and according to Unegbu, (2003:44) ‘sovereignty within sovereignty can never survive’; this is to say that the various former ‘sovereign’ ethnic groups cannot survive under one ‘sovereign’ group now known as ‘Nigeria’. These former ethnic groups have their own employment relations practices fashioned after their cultural practices; to group them together and expect them to change their management practices will be problematic.

As mentioned earlier in Chapter Two, Mungo Park introduced wage employment by paying his guides in the ‘vast area around the Niger (River)’ which is today part of what is now known as Nigeria (Park, 1799:123). This was followed by the various British traders, then the first Nigerian multinational –Royal Niger Company- and finally to the Amalgamation processes of 1906 to 1914 which brought the Southern Protectorate, the Lagos Colony and the Northern Protectorate together and administered as one Nigeria. This could be regarded as the formal beginning of the introduction and the formal transfer of the British Voluntarist employment relations system into Nigeria. This system was a carbon copy of what was happening in far-

away Britain (Yesufu, 1993; Ubeku, 1993). The introduction and transfer was with little apparent thought for the differences in the social-cultural factors between the two countries, but rather for administrative and economic/commercial conveniences of the British colonial masters.

The British Voluntarist employment relations system introduced was developed in the United Kingdom based on the prevailing socio-cultural, political and economic philosophies during the 18th and 19th century industrial revolution in the country (Florence, 1957; Tomlison, 1994; Yesufu, 1982). This employment relations system was brought to Nigeria. The people who were found in the areas now known as Nigeria were predominantly subsistence farmers and hunters of animals; they had developed their own Paternalistic employment relations system based on their customs and traditions before the advent of the colonial masters (Ubeku, 1983).

The two employment relations systems were therefore fashioned after the socio-cultural, political, and economic realities of the people of the two countries - Nigeria and the UK (Yesufu, 1982; Florence, 1957). The British colonialists were more interested in the economic benefits from Nigeria and the former colonies and not interested in the differences in the socio-cultural settings (Leonards, 1996). Moreover there was no way the British colonialists could have recruited the uneducated people (by British standards) they met in the territory now known as Nigeria to operate the British Voluntarist employment relations system; invariably the British colonial masters transferred the management practices they knew (Crafts, 1977).

Another reason for the transfer of the British Voluntarist employment relations system according to Ukpabi (1987) was because of the pressures of sourcing for reliable and cheap raw materials as well as finding new markets for the industrial goods. Crafts (1977) suggests that one of the advantages of the Industrial Revolution was that it brought about a situation whereby goods were now produced in large quantities, far more than can be consumed in the UK; there

was therefore a need for more markets. Ukpabi (1987) concludes that the British colonial masters had no intentions of turning the territory, (Nigeria) into an industrial territory. The territory was expected to remain as a reliable market for the British industrial products as well as serve as a regular source of employment for British citizens who could not be guaranteed employments at home (Mobibbo, 1985; Leonards, 1996).

The former colonial territories were therefore able to serve as new markets, sources of cheap and reliable raw materials as well as sources of employment for British citizens. There was therefore no need to come up with a befitting employment relations practice fashioned after the Nigerian socio-cultural settings. Moreover the British colonial masters were not used to the Nigerian Paternalistic employment system fashioned after the culture of the ethnic groups merged together to become one Nigeria rather they were used to the British Voluntarist employment relations system (Ubeku, 1993). The colonial masters had two options: (1) Learn and implement the Nigeria Paternalistic ERP; this is not possible because the Nigerian Paternalistic ERP was fashioned after the peasant farming and by then Britain was already industrialised. (2) Transfer the British Voluntarist ERP; this is a better option as this is known by the British colonial masters (Ukpabi, 1987). Unfortunately, the British Voluntarist ERP was not fashioned after the culture of the people the British met in the territory (Ubeku, 1993).

Evidences from the secondary sources

Bryman (1798), Rennell (1779) and Park (1799) confirmed that Mungo Park was commissioned by the *British African Association* to find out the course of River Niger, which was done during his first journey. He left Portsmouth, (UK) in May 1795 and arrived the African coast on 4 June 1795 (Nicol, 1957; Brent, 1977, Park and Rennell, 1799:B2). *The British African Association* was founded in London in 9 June 1788, it was a British club headed by Sir Joseph Banks and was dedicated to the exploration of West Africa with the mission of

discovering the origin and the course of River Niger and the location of Timbuktu, the ‘lost city of Gold’ (Park, 1799:12).

Park and Rennell, (1799:3-5) report that Mungo Park was given ‘plain and concise’ instructions ‘to pass on to the river of Niger, either by the way of Bambouk, or by such other route as should be found most convenient.’ And that he ‘should ascertain the course, and if possible, the rise and termination of that river. That I (Mungo Park) should use my utmost exertions to visit principal towns or cities in its neighbourhood particularly Tobuctoo and Houssa’. Park and Rennell (1799:3-5) also confirm that Mungo Park was further instructed to be at ‘liberty to return to Europe, either by the way of the Gambia, or by such other route, as, under all the then existing circumstances of my (Mungo Park) situation and prospects should appear to me to be advisable’.

After submitting his report of the first journey which was later published in 1799 as *Travels into the Interior District*, which detailed the economic viability of the areas along the (River) Niger, the British government commissioned him to embark on the second journey which he did in 1806. The government gave him all he wanted including armed troops so as to ensure that he got to Africa at all cost (Leonard, 1996). After his (Mungo Park) death in Nigeria during the second trip, the British government commissioned Clapperton in 1825 and in 1849 commissioned Henry Bath while the Lander brothers – Richard and John- came to Nigeria in 1830 followed by Macgregor in 1833 (Burns and Burns,1973). These men were expected by the British government to complete the exploration of Africa which Mungo Park started (Dike, 1956).

The main reason for the exploration was to source for new markets for British products and new products for British markets as well as probably to add more territories to the then British Empire (Leonard, 1996). The Royal Niger Company, the first multinational company was

chartered by the British government in July 1886; the company was expected to combine all the British commercial interests in Nigeria (Flint, 1960; Dike, 1956). It was obvious that commercial or economic interests were paramount to the then British government and this probably overshadowed other considerations including the difference in socio-cultural realities between the two countries. Flint (1960) even concluded that Royal Niger Company formed the basis for the modern state of Nigeria; this was because it was the trading structures established by the company that were transformed into the political/administrative structures by subsequent colonial administrators.

As it was apparent that it was impossible for a chartered company to hold its own against the state-supported protectorate of France and Germany, Royal Niger Company transferred its territories to the British government for the sum of £865,000 (Burns and Burns, 1973; Flint, 1960; Dike, 1956). The British colonial administration took over from the Royal Niger Company in 1900 and direct administration of the country commenced (Burns and Burns, 1973). By this time the British Voluntarist employment relations system was already entrenched in Nigeria as wage employment started by Mungo Park had been perfected by Royal Niger Company; so what the first colonial Governor General, Lord Lugard did was to continue with the already established British Voluntarist employment relations system (Dike, 1956). In all of these developments there were little or no thoughts about the differences in the origins and developments of the two employment relations systems-The Nigerian Paternalistic and the British Voluntarist employment relations systems- (Yesufu, 1982)

With the Amalgamation Act of 1914 by Lord Lugard, there was little or no thought about the differences in the culture of the over 250 tribes (including some parts of the present-day Cameroon) that constituted the then Nigeria and Cameroon. Tamuna (1970:563) records that agitation for separation by some ethnic groups started as early as 1914 just immediately after Lugard's Amalgamation Act of 1914 which merged the Lagos Colony, the Southern

Protectorate and the Northern Protectorate together; these agitations continued till the “collapse of the ‘Biafra’ movement in January, 1970”.

The agitations started again around June 12 1993 after the annulment of the 1993 Presidential elections which Chief MKO Abiola (a southerner) was popularly adjudged by both the local and the international observers to have won (Enemuo, 1999:3). He (1999: 3) concludes that ‘--- ---. The annulment of the June elections was widely interpreted as a plot by the northerner faction of the Nigerian power elite to prevent a transfer of authority to a Southerner; -----'. This fuelled Southerners’ feelings of deprivation, neglect and marginalization.’

Tamuna (1970:563) on the other hand stated that ‘Nigeria’s stability was so severely threatened by such factors as reckless politics, military *coups d’etat* refugee problems, and secessionist movements that foreign observers predicted the failure of a hitherto glorified model of a newly independent, democratic, multi-national state in West Africa’. He (1970:563) concludes that ‘-----’. In February 1966 (after the first Nigeria’s military coup of January, 1966) pessimism about Nigeria’s political future was so great that some observers inside and outside believed that such a British-created federation as Nigeria’s could not survive after the failure of the similarly launched Central African Federation, the West Indian Federation, and Malaysia (after Singapore’s separation)’.

While accounting for the conflicts Unegbo (2003:42) suggests that the ‘dumping together into colonies (subsequent “independent countries”) of disparate peoples with no common bonds of history, culture or shared prior experience’ is expected to brew conflicts. He (2003:42) goes further to explain that ‘these ethnic groups (which before colonialism had been nations in their own right had divergent cultures and interests; conflict was inevitable in the ensuing competition over the largesse of government’. These former ‘nations’ are from different cultural backgrounds and endowed with different management practices but with colonialism

they are now expected to ‘unlearn’ things they have learned since childhood and start to ‘learn’ new things and also adopt new management practices.

It was about fifty years after independence that the problems of differences in culture in the practice of the imported British Voluntarist employment relations system became problematic; this was after the October 1 1960 independence (Ekeh, 1989). This as mentioned earlier in Chapter Two brought about the constitutional provision of the ‘Federal Character’ – employment based on state of origin rather than on merit- , which is against the workings and principles of the British Voluntarist employment relations system (Ekeh, 1989). To be able to solve this problem the constitutional provisions of ‘Federal Character’ was conceived but unfortunately what was expected to be the solution ended up creating more problems which partly led to the civil war and the various military coups as well as the present unrest in the Niger Delta of Nigeria (Ekeh and Osaghae, 1989).

This came about because the various ethnic groups brought together by the British colonialists were not ready to tolerate one another as they are all from different socio-cultural backgrounds (Nnoli, 1978; Ekeh and Osaghae, 1989). As mentioned in Chapter Two, the people from the south (especially those from the south west) were exposed to Christianity and the western/British type of education earlier than their ‘new’ brothers and sisters from the north (Laitan, 1986; Crampton, 1979; Kalu, 1980). The western/British type of education is what was and still is required to operate the British Voluntarist ERS. It translates to the fact that more people from the southern part of the country will be qualified to be recruited and fewer people from the northern part of the country will be qualified to be recruited. Therefore if the British Voluntarist ERS is left to operate on its own without any interference, people from the northern part of the country will be marginalised. Unfortunately under the constitutional provisions of the ‘Federal Character’, the more educated and more experienced people from the southern part of the country will have to be subordinates of the less educated and less

experienced people from the northern part of the country; this accounts for the failure of what was supposed to be the solution to the problem created by the colonial masters.

Conclusion of 5.1

It can therefore be concluded that socio-cultural factors do not play a lot of significant role in the transfer of the British Voluntarist employment relations practices to Nigeria; rather commercial or economic factors were more significant to the British colonialists in the transfer (Unegbu, 2003). This probably led to the various difficulties faced by the transfer both during the Amalgamation processes of 1906-1914 and after the granting of independence (Ubeku, 1983; Yesufu, 1982). Unfortunately socio-cultural factors are very important in the development and transfer of any management practice (employment relations practice and political democracy inclusive); management of people cannot be separated from their culture or their way of life or their 'mental programming' (Hofstede, 2005:4).

In the case of Nigeria, over 250 different ethnic groups were merged to become what is today referred to as Nigeria; these people were from different cultural backgrounds just as the British colonisers are from different cultural backgrounds (Ukpabi, 1966). The fact that agitations for separation started immediately after the Lugard's Amalgamation Act of 1914 and these agitations still persist till today demonstrate that people of similar culture will prefer and be more comfortable to be politically and economically managed together (Tamuna 1970). It can also be concluded that only economic/commercial factors were considered in the transfer of the British Voluntarist employment relations practice by the colonial masters.

If socio-cultural factors were considered the over 250 ethnic groups would not have been merged together because it was obvious that people from different ethnic groups will be from different socio-cultural backgrounds, the merging was purely for administrative and economic purposes (Mobibbo, 1985). It can also be concluded that socio-cultural factors are the bedrock

of the development of any employment relations practice (and most management practices) (Hayashi and Baldwin, 1988). It therefore stands that it will be problematic if not impossible to transfer an employment relations practice (and most management practices) developed in a socio-cultural setting to another socio-cultural setting (Weinshall, 1977).

5.2 Do British Multinational Companies (MNCs) pay any particular attention to differences in the socio-cultural, economic and political realities of Britain and the host countries while transferring the British employment relations practices to the host countries – mostly former British colonies- in which they operate? (A reminder)

Royal Niger Company (RNC) (the first British multinational company in Nigeria), was more interested in exploiting the resources (human and natural) of the country as much as possible and with limited costs (Ukpabi, 1987). As a commercial organisation, profit-making was paramount to the company one was not then surprised that when the company handed over its trading territories to the British government in 1900 the company was paid off to the tune of £865,000 (Crowther, 1968; Burns and Burns, 1973). As a profit-making organisation the issue of paying attention to socio-cultural differences both between the two countries and the various ethnic groups that were merged together was secondary in the thoughts of the management of RNC (Ukpabi, 1987).

For example, the Combination Act of 1799 and 1800, the 1867 Masters and Servant Acts and the 1871 Trade Union Act were all enacted in the UK while the Royal Charter was granted to the company in July 1886; yet there was no evidence of trade unionism practised in the company (Lewis, 1976). The first act of trade union and trade unionism only started in Nigeria in 1912. One can then ask: What happened to trade unionism in Nigeria between 1886 and 1912? It should also be stated that the British Combination Acts started as far back as 1799-1800 (Falola, 1999). If there was no practice of trade unionism there was definitely no record of any collective bargaining in practice and no record of any collective resistance (Burns,

1929). The first multinational company (Royal Niger Company) was only interested in the profit rather than any thought about the differences in socio-cultural realities (Flint, 1960). All that was done was to continue with the wage employment and use the Chief's and Oba's as middle men to exploit the resources from the hinterland (Pearson, 1971).

The British MNCs especially Royal Niger Company exploited this situation by using the Oba's, Obi's and Emir's as recruitment agents just as the subsequent British colonial governments did (Ukpabi, 1987). The contemporary British MNCs also exploited the political immaturity of the people of Nigeria to achieve their economic objectives and this led to the present unrest in the Niger Delta (Freund, 1978). The situation during the colonial era led to labour unrest and ultimately led to war over palm oil (Gertzel, 1962); the same situation is in practice today which led to what could now be referred to as the war on crude oil (Obi, 2001; Okonta and Douglas, 2003). Recently Shell Oil Company had to pay \$15 million to the Ogoni people of Niger Delta as an out of court settlement over the company's involvement in the death of Saro Wiwa (an Ogoni leader) who was agitating for compensation for the Ogoni farmers whose farmlands were polluted through oil spillage by the Shell Oil Company (Nigerian Guardian Newspaper, 9th June 2009).

Conclusion of 5.2

While relying on the accounts of Ukpabi, (1987); Pearson, (1971); Leonard, (1996); Okonta and Gouglas, (2003); Gertzel, (1962); Obi, (2001); Nigerian Guardian Newspaper,(9/06/2009) and Mobibbo, (1985); one could therefore conclude that the first British MNC paid very little attention to differences in the socio-cultural and political factors in the transfer of the British Voluntarist ERP to her former colonies or host countries in which they operated. The British Voluntarist employment relations practice was transferred mainly because that was the only practice the British colonial managers were familiar with; it was also the only practice that will enable them and their company to make profit (Ferner and Quintanilla, 1998). Unfortunately

the colonial managers did not bear in mind the differences in socio- cultural realities of the two countries. This manifested as early as the establishment of the first MNC, Royal Niger Company and this was passed down to subsequent MNC's; attentions were focussed and still being focussed on the economic factors and not on the socio-cultural factors.

5.3 How does colonialism influence the replacement of employment relations practices?

The case of Nigeria and are the problems underpinning the replacement of employment relations practices in Nigeria related to the legacy of colonialism? (A reminder)

(a reminder)

There existed an employment relations practice in the 'vast land around the Niger (River)' now known as Nigeria before the coming of the colonial masters (Park, 1799:102). This employment relations practice was fashioned after the socio-cultural, political and economics realities of the people living in the area (Ubeku, 1993). It is very erroneous to believe that there never existed any employment relations practices or that it was primitive as some scholars wanted us to believe. The people in this territory carried out economic activities prior to the coming of the 'white people': they ate, clothed themselves one way or the other, produced goods and commodities for their survival (Northrup, 1978). If these were done before the arrival of the colonial masters, then there must be an employment relations system in existence; which was the Paternalistic employment relations practice (please see Chapter Two). It should also be stated that most of the people in what became known as Nigeria had engaged in foreign trade with the traders from North Africa before the arrival of the British traders who later became colonial masters (McPhee, 1926; Bovill, 1968).

The arrival of Mungo Park around 20th July 1795 to the River Niger during his first ever voyage to Africa, could be said to be the beginning of colonialism in the 'vast land around the Niger (River)' (Park, 1799). It must have been during this time that he employed guides and paid them some amount of money for their services which signified the introduction of wage

employment on which the British Voluntarist employment relations practice was built. The second voyage started on 30 of January 1805 (Park, 1805); Mungo Park had no personal records of this journey as he did for the first voyage because he died doing the second voyage. He opened up the territory for other traders from France, Germany, Poland and Britain as well as British Christian missionaries; the activities of some of the British traders especially brought in the first MNC - Royal Niger Company- (Flint, 1960).

This was followed by the amalgamation of the Southern Protectorate, the Lagos Colony and the Northern Protectorate between 1906 and 1914 which was the bringing together of the various territories been variously administered together under one administration headed by Lord Lugard as discussed earlier in Chapter Two. The main motive for the colonisation of Nigeria like other former British colonies was economic and to be able to achieve this aim, Nigeria's Paternalistic employment relations system must be replaced with the British Voluntarist employment relations system so as to be able to achieve the economic aim at the very shortest time and with limited resources (Mobibbo, 1985).

Childs and Williams, (1997) suggest that Britain's fast developing commercial activities in the 18th and 19th century was mainly due to its colonial empire and the monopoly of slave trade in the Atlantic area and that the former colonies played a dual role: (1) as suppliers of cheap and reliable raw materials and (2) as growing markets for excess British manufactured goods. Ofonagoro, (1979) suggests that these former British colonies provided a ready source of employment for some unemployed and unemployable British citizens especially after the First and Second World Wars; this was also economic and political. In all of these the benefits of colonisation weighed more on the side of the colonisers (Hopkins, 1973).

Conclusion of 5.3

In the first place it was colonialism in whatever definition either from territorial expansionism perspective or from economic perspective that brought the British to Nigeria and other former colonies (Havinden and Meridith, 1993). It can therefore be concluded that it was colonilisation of Nigeria (and other former British colonies) that led to the introduction of the British Voluntarist employment relations system and once this was introduced, the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system was abandoned (Ubeku, 1993).

What Mango Park regarded as a private exploration was later hijacked by the then British government who provided everything he needed including armed troops (Park, 1805). What initially started as a trade between equal partners went on to be regarded by the British colonial masters as a 'protectorate', that is protecting Nigeria and Nigerians from other foreign traders, France and Germany especially; the relationship ended up in colonilisation (Havinden and Meridith, 1993). The whole idea of a protectorate was for the British colonial masters to monopolise trading and trading activities in the territory; it was meant to wade away other traders from other European countries (Crowther, 1968). Unfortunately it was presented to the people in the territories that it was in their interest to be protected (Ukpabi, 1987). The main reason for the transfer of the trading routes of the Royal Niger Company to the British government in 1900 was to enable the territory to be safe in the hands of the British rather than allow companies from other countries to come in (Crowther, 1968). It was therefore colonialism that brought about the transfer of the British Voluntarist ERP.

In order to attempt to discuss the issue of the legacy of colonialism, there is a need to find out some of the reasons for colonialism. According to Crouzet (1972) and Hudson (1992) the following reasons accounted for the spread of Industrial Revolution: Firstly, the growth of wealth which was derived partly from the geographical explorations as well as from growing commercial and banking activities. Secondly, the increase in demand brought about by increase

in population due to falling death rate and a drastic reduction in infant mortality rate; and thirdly, the introduction of new products and the development of new technology. The introduction of new products and new technology brought about competitions between the various firms which brought about an urgent need for new markets and this invariably led to the consolidation of these new markets and this can only be effectively done through colonisation of the territories involved (Hudson,1992). Horvath (1972:46) defines colonialism as ‘a form of domination—the control by individuals or groups over the territory and/or behaviour of other individuals or groups’; this ‘domination’ in most cases lead to cultural diffusion/change. Nigeria and Nigerians are no exception to this Horvath (1972) definition.

It was after the British traders came to Nigeria which later led to the establishment of the Royal Niger Company that barter trade was abandoned and the use of money as means of exchange was introduced which aided the transfer of the British Voluntarist ERP which replaced the Nigerian Paternalistic ERP (Hawkins, 1958; Jones, 1958). One can conclude that the inhabitants of the area now known as Nigeria would never have known what a monetary economy was had the colonialists not introduced it. It was the monetary economy that brought about wage employment which made the transfer of the British Voluntarist ERP visible; therefore the problems associated with the replacement of the British Voluntarist ERP could be said to be the legacy of colonialism.

The name and the word ‘Nigeria’ was derived from the phrase ‘vast land around the (River) Niger’; meaning the land around the River Niger (Park, 1805; Omoruyi, 2002); they were not derived from any of the languages of the ethnic groups merged together to be called ‘Nigeria’; it was derived from English language, same as the words ‘River’ and ‘Niger’. It was Flora Shaw (she later married Lord Lugard, a British colonial administrator in the late 19th century) that coined the name Nigeria from Niger River (McIntosh and McIntosh, 1984; McIntosh and

McIntosh, 1988; Bell, 1947). If the name of the country has colonial connotations even after independent one could conclude that had the ‘white men’ (as they were then called) not come at all there would probably not have been an entity called Nigeria not to talk of transferring anything including the British Voluntarist ERP. River Niger had no meaning to the people other than use for domestic purposes; it was the colonial masters that made a big issue out of the river (Ukpabi, 1987). Their coming and the transfer of the British Voluntarist ERP were therefore colonial legacies.

5.4 What is the impact of ‘Federal Character’ on employment relations policies and practices in Nigerian multinational companies? (A reminder)

As mentioned in Chapter Two, ‘Federal Character’ was expected to help solve the problems created by the forced coming together of people from different socio-cultural backgrounds through the Lord Lugard’s 1914 Amalgamation of the Southern Protectorate and The Colony of Lagos with the Northern Protectorate to become the combined colony of Nigeria (Margery, 1956; Ballard, 1971). The 1906-1914 Amalgamation brought together different ethnic groups from different socio-cultural backgrounds (Perham, 1937; Kirk-Greene, 1968).

For example the Northern part of the country consisted of the Hausa people speaking Hausa language and the Fulanis speaking Kanuri language; while the Southern part consisted mainly of the Yorubas speaking different languages and dialects and the Ibos speaking Ibo language; the Ijaws, and the Isehkiris in the south-south speak an entirely different language; the Calabars also speak different languages (Crozier *et al*, 1992). About ten years ago some tribes who were living in the caves around the middle belt were discovered; they do not wear clothes and shoes, they too speak a different language (Nigerian Guardian Newspaper, 12/06/08). These about 250 different ethnic groups have no similarity of culture at all; yet the Amalgamation of 1906 to 1914 brought all of them together as one (Kirk-Greene, 1968; Hair, 1967).

When the British left after granting independence, the Nigerian civil service was dominated by the Southerners who were exposed to Christianity and the western/British type of education while most of the Northerners who were exposed to the Islamic education could not be recruited (Adamolekun *et al*, 1991). So in order to foster unity, the constitutional provision of the 'Federal Character' was introduced (Dia, 1993). The elites from the North with the coalition of some British administrators had to delay the granting of independence so as to be able to catch up with the Southerners; this was done by introducing the phrase 'independent as soon as possible' during the 1958 constitutional conference held in London (HMSO, 4th November 1958 vol. 594: 741-2).

Independence was eventually granted on 1 October 1960, but it was observed that within the new nation that there were differences in culture, stages of social and economic development and even in levels of political awareness of the people (Ekeh and Osaghae, 1989). There also existed a lot of disparities in the educational developments among the different states which led to employment advantages for some Nigerians from some states and employment disadvantages for their fellow Nigerians from other states (Nnoli, 1978). For example it was discovered that people from the southern states were more educated than their brothers and sisters from the northern states and even within the southern states educational disparities occur; for example people from Ogun state are more educationally advantaged than those from the Cross River State (Afigbo, 1989).

There was therefore a need for employment to be according to state of origin rather than according to merit as prescribed by the British Voluntarist employment relations practice (Ekeh and Osaghae, 1989). This was because if it was left to merit, only people from certain states or regions especially some states/regions in the south will be employable; while people from most parts of the north would not be employable (Ekeh, 1989; Nnoli, 1978; Afigbo, 1989). The 1979 Constitution of Nigeria therefore enacted the 'Principle of the Federal Character' and made

provisions for the creation of the Federal Character Commission. The mission and the vision statements of the 'Federal Character Commission' as contained in the 1979 Nigerian Constitution are reproduced below:

Mission statement of Federal Character Commission: The Federal Character Commission is committed to fostering a sense of belonging among all Nigerians through: Equitable sharing of posts in the Public Service without sacrificing merit; and fair distribution of socio-economic amenities to ensure even development among the federating units of Nigeria (Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979 Constitution, Section 153(1)).

Vision statement of the Federal Character Commission: 'Building a strong, virile and indivisible nation, united in purpose and to which every citizen feels proud to belong, founded on the philosophy of fairness, equity and justice' (Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979 Constitution, Section 153(1)).

The replacement of the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations practice with the British Voluntarist employment relations practice without due considerations for socio-cultural factors became problematic no sooner than the country gained independent on October 1 1960 (Yesufu, 1982). The cracks in the replacement/transfer had started to manifest as early as 1954 when the country opted for Federalism (Agaje, 1960). In order to address the issue, Quota System was therefore introduced yet the problem could not be properly addressed and by 1975 it had manifested into a serious political issue that if not well handled the country would break into smaller units (Afigbo, 1989). To avoid this situation, in 1979 a Constitutional provision known as 'Federal Character Principle' was enacted (Agbaje, 1989).

The provision of this Constitutional Act was silence about multinational companies, but in practice the companies were expected to directly or indirectly comply with the constitutional provision; so as to be seen as good corporate citizens (Afigbo, 1989). As these companies

would want to please the Federal Government of Nigeria, the constitutional provision had to be secretly but strictly adhered to directly or indirectly. This was by making sure that people from the various geo-political areas of the country were recruited especially on the board of directors; failure to do this might result to inviting the wrath of the Federal government of Nigeria directly or indirectly; so in order to be seen as good corporate citizens by not going against the constitution, the multinational companies must comply with all the Constitutional provisions of the host country (Nigeria); Federal Character Principles inclusive (Ekeh and Osaghae, 1989).

The effect of this was that the Northerners who were not educationally and professionally qualified were brought in; or the post would be offered to an expatriate on contract while a Northerner was trained as quickly as possible (Afigbo, 1989). In most instances the less qualified Northerners ended up being the boss of a more qualified Southerner. All these went on in the Judiciary, Foreign Service, and every arm of the government including the Presidency which the Northerners saw as their birth right; so far since independence in 1960 more Northerners have occupied the post (Nnoli, 1975). In the educational system, Northerners were offered admission to the Federal government financed universities with lower qualifications as compared with their counterparts from the South especially from the South West; the whole idea translated to 'holding' the south down so that the north could 'catch' up; The Federal Government of Nigeria spends more money on education in the Northern States than the Southern States up till today (Odesola, 2009: 34).

It must be stated that the practice of the British Voluntarist employment relations system as mentioned in Chapter One is rested on the assumptions that recruitments, selections and promotions must be solely based on merit and no other considerations (Marchington and Goodman, 2004). In the former Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system as discussed in Chapter Two, recruitments, selections, and promotions were not necessarily based

on merit but on the discretion of the family head (Ubeku, 1993). The ‘Federal Character’ therefore leans more on the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system than the British Voluntarist employment relations system (Iwuji, 1968). As will be discussed in more details in Chapter Seven, recruitments, selections, and promotions in most MNC in Nigeria is not based solely on merit but on other considerations including the ‘Federal Character’, the state of origin of the Personnel Manager or the CEO, and probably the state of origin of the major shareholders (Ubeku, 1984).

Conclusion of 5.4

As the ‘Federal Character’ is a constitutional provision, everybody and all organisations including MNC’s must abide by it, if not such an action becomes illegal and sanctions will definitely be imposed (Adekanye, 1989). The MNC’s operating in Nigeria must therefore abide with this constitutional provision. The effect of this is that the MNC’s are forced to sacrifice merit for state of origin. To circumvent this some of the MNC’s will rather bring in some of their employees from their home countries even in areas where some Nigerians (mostly people from the south) are capable and in most cases these employees are paid in foreign currencies; this is a drain on the foreign reserves of the country (Ubeku, 1984).

5.5 Chapter conclusion

One could therefore conclude that the transfer of the British ‘Voluntarist’ ERP to Nigeria (and other former British colonies) is problematic and that part of the reason for this is the differences in culture between Britain and Nigeria as well as differences in the culture of all the ethnic groups that were forced to merge to become what is now regarded as one Nigeria. It is therefore obvious that socio-cultural factors play important roles in the transfer of employment relations practices as well as other management practices (Kirk-Greene, 1967). It also follows that it is problematic if not impossible to devise a template of employment relations practice or any other management practice (political democracy inclusive) in one cultural area with the

intention of transferring same to another cultural areas. Further research findings and the interpretations will be continued in Chapter Six.

Chapter Six: Research findings and interpretations of findings: primary data analysis

6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings obtained during the various face-to-face- interviews with the management and employees of Cadbury Worldwide, Cadbury Worldwide UK Plc and Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc, trade union leaders in both countries as well as government officials of both Nigeria and Great Britain. As mentioned in Chapter Four, narrative analysis will be employed in analysing the various interviews. The chapter will also admister the narratives from the interviews on Hofstede's (1980, 2001) to explain the different 'cultural dimensions' between Nigeria (using Nigerian workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc as case study) and the Great Britain (using the British workers at Cadbury Worldwide UK as the case study).

The chapter relates the gap in the literature to the 'working propositions' of the research. The central theme in this chapter will be the level of participation of workers in decision making processes in both plants; the levels of participation will be used to determine the degree of industrial/economic democracy performance *ceteris paribus* (all other things being equal or held constant). The chapter will compare the levels of workers participation in decision making in both firms and also account for the differences in levels of participation. It is expected that because most of the Nigerian workers are not used to working in industrial settings and because of cultural reasons the level of participation will be lower than that of an average British worker despite the fact that both firms belong to the same parent company, Cadbury Worldwide.

The main findings are that because of the failure of political democracy in Nigeria, industrial/economic democracy cannot be effectively practiced at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc while because of the success and the smooth running of political democracy in the UK; industrial/economic democracy is effectively being practised at Cadbury Worldwide UK Plc.

The lack of proper practice of industrial/economic democracy due to some elements of national culture affected job commitment and job satisfaction and finally culture and cultural values played a lot of impact in collective bargaining at both plants. The previous chapter demonstrates the importance of socio-cultural factors on the transfer of the British Voluntarists employment relations practice; this chapter will address the research propositions and the linkage between the research propositions and the research questions; both are stated below:

Research propositions (a reminder)

P1: “The more industrialised a country is, the more democratised and the more the clamour for industrial/economic democracy in the workplaces in the country.”

P2: “The more a society is politically democratised, the more the clamour for industrial/economic democracy in the workplaces.”

P3: “The more the prevalent of industrial/economic democracy the more industrial peace and the increase the productivity”

P4: ‘the farther away the Hofstede’s (1980, 2001) ‘power distance’, the more likely will the managers see themselves as ‘lords’ and see the workers as ‘servants’ or subordinates; the nearer the Hofstede’s (1980, 2001) ‘power distance’ the more managers see the workers as colleagues and partners in progress’

Key research questions (to aid recall):

- Do socio-cultural factors play any significant role in the transfer of the British employment relations practices to the former colonies? (**KRQ 1**)
- Do British Multinational Companies (MNCs) pay any particular attention to the differences in the socio-cultural, economic and political realities of Britain and the host countries while transferring the British employment relations practices to the host countries – mostly former British colonies- in which they operate? (**KRQ2**)

Sub-research questions:

- How does colonialism influence the replacement of employment relations practices in Nigeria? And are the problems underpinning the replacement of employment relations practices in Nigeria related to the legacy of colonialism? **(SRQ3)**
- What is the impact of 'Federal Character' on the employment relations policies and practices in Nigerian multinational companies? **(SRQ4)**

6.1 Linkage between the research propositions and the research questions

The issues in both the research propositions and the research questions can be said to be two sides of the same coin because both phenomena compliment each other. The research questions deal with the processes of the transfer of the British Voluntarist ERP to Nigeria (and other former British colonies) and the influence of culture on the transfer of the British Voluntarist ERP to Nigeria (and other British colonies). While the research propositions deal with the processes and the challenges of transfer and the practices of the concepts of economic/industrial democracy from Britain to Nigeria. Industrialisation and wage employment work hand in hand, both phenomena started earlier in the UK and both were transferred to Nigeria (and other former British colonies) without much thoughts about the differences in the socio-cultural realities of all the countries involved.

Wage employment is fundamental to the workings of the British Voluntarist employment relations practice while industrialisation is difficult if not impossible without wage employment (Deakin and Wilkinson, 2006); all the above stated phenomena were transfer from Britain to Nigeria without considerations for the differences in the socio-cultural realities between the two countries. Cadbury Worldwide, the parent company of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc, started from Birmingham in the UK (please see Chapter Three); it is therefore expected that the employment relations in practice in the UK would be transferred to Nigeria, unfortunately there are a lot of cultural disparities between the citizens/workers of both countries.

The impact of those cultural disparities on employment relations and how these affect participation in decision making is the focus of this chapter. Another issue that must be borne in mind is that of level of western type of education, Bantock (1968) identifies a very close relationship between culture, industrialisation and education. The western type of education goes with the western type industrialisation as well as with their culture; the western type of education was also transferred to Nigeria (Anosike, 1977) and other former British colonies through colonisation, same as industrialisation but meant to operate under a different cultural environment; the scenario, how this scenario worked out, and the implications of this scenerio will soon be examined.

6.2 P1: “The more industrialised a country is, the more democratised and the more the clamour for industrial /economic democracy in the workplaces in the country” (See Table 6.2(a))

Findings: Most of the workers at Cadbury (UK) Plc totally agreed that because Britain was the first country to be industrialised in the World, the citizens have embedded in them the ‘culture’ of working in an industrial set-up. The citizens have a lot of industrial history and experience to fall upon. For example most of the employees and some management staff of Cadbury (UK) Plc have either their fathers or mothers and in some cases both parents that have been engaged in wage employment and even worked in an industrial setting before. Some of the workers were even encouraged to work at Cadbury (UK) Plc by their parents because either of the parents or even both of them are still in wage employment; in a particular case both parents met at Cadbury (UK) Plc.

This is unlike the situation at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc where most of the workers -both junior and senior- happen to be the first generation of workers in an industrial set-up or even in any wage employment. Most of their parents are farmers and some of them are still working in their

various farms in the villages. Only about 20% of the workers interviewed have parents that were involved in wage employment or worked in an industrial set-up. This lack of 'industrial-culture' and experience adversely affected the democratisation of work-places in Nigeria and worked in favour of democratisation of work-places in the United Kingdom. The work culture in Cadbury (UK) Plc is to be part of whatever is going on in the organisation; this work culture is still to be embedded at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc, where there is still the notion of '*their*' organisation – *their* referring to the management - and not of '*our*' organisation. This is as a result of the direct impact of culture from the larger societies to the workplaces. Participation of workers in decision making process was made easier in the UK because of the industrial experience; moreover this is the practice in the larger society. These days participation is no more in dispute as the level of education of an average worker is higher than that of an average Nigerian worker.

Another issue that should also be taken into consideration is the level of the western type of education since as mentioned earlier in this chapter, this was also introduced to Nigeria by the British through colonisation and Christianity, the impact is felt in the two firms. It is assumed that the more educated one is; the more one wants to participate in the decision making process of the place one lives or works and lack of education makes one to accept the situation as it comes (Bantock,1968). This also accounted for the issues brought to the negotiation table, as education brings awareness; which influences participation in trade union activities in the workplace.

One is therefore not surprised that '*ALL*' issues are brought to the negotiation table at Cadbury (UK) Plc while strategic decisions like pay and other conditions of service were left to the Industrial Union at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc; workers at the plant only discuss issues such as the location and the opening hours of the company's canteen, where and when will the company's vehicles pick up workers. It also accounts for the level of participation in trade union activities

at both plants. Workers at Cadbury Worldwide UK participate fully in trade union activities like elections of representatives while workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc have to be '*begged*' to vote or to be voted for (*a worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc*). At Cadbury (UK) Plc collective bargaining is done at plant level '*daily and on ALL issues*' (a Unite trade union leader) unlike the situation at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc where collective bargaining is still mostly at the industrial level and every two years (*an employee of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc*).

Industrial experience and levels of education would have accounted for this too, as Britain has a lot of years of industrial experience to fall back upon and during this long period of industrialisation a lot of '*trial and error*' on so many issues would have taken place and this served as their learning curve; again it should be remembered that United Kingdom was the first country in the World to be industrialised in the 18th and 19th century (Crafts, 1977). Industrialisation came to Nigeria in the 1950s, trading was the only activity of the early British colonialists (Hoogvelt, 1979; Aliyu, 1995). For example the first bank in Nigeria was established in 1894 by Alfred Lewis – a British shipping magnet- mainly to help in bringing silver coins to West African British colonies; the Central Bank of Nigeria was established only in 1958 while the Bank of England was established in 1694 (Nwankwo, 1980).

Nigerian industrial workers have very limited industrial experience as they are still undergoing the '*trial and error*' phase which took place in the United Kingdom centuries ago. As mentioned earlier in Chapters One and Two, industrialisation brings people from different backgrounds to work in industries usually located in the cities; this affected the socio-economic arrangement; just as the industrial revolution of late 18th and 19th century in the United Kingdom brought about a change in the socio-economic and cultural situations of Great Britain (Crafts, 1977). The wave of change that took place in the 18th and 19th century in the UK is just coming to Nigeria so the socio-economic and cultural change witnessed in the UK in the 18th and 19th is just about to be witnessed in Nigeria (Ubeku, 1993; Yesufu, 1982; Iwuji, 1968). Part

of the socioeconomic and cultural change is the democratisation of the workplaces in the UK just as the wider society has been politically democratised (Crafts, 1977). It could therefore be concluded that ‘the more industrialised a country is, the more democratised and the more the clamour for industrial/economic democracy in the workplaces in the country.’

The findings of this study are contrary to that of Kochan and Osterman (1994) which suggested that participations of workers in decision-making will be on the increase in Western European firms, but not on strategic issues. This is because at Cadbury Worldwide UK Plc ‘*ALL ISSUES*’ including strategic ones were brought to the negotiation table. For example workers were involved in the de-merger exercise which was very strategic by all standards. This is unlike the situation in Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc where the sacking of the Bunmi Oni-led management was done from London and workers were not involved. Participation in Nigeria can be categorised under Tower’s *et al.* (1987) ‘cosmetic’.

This was because collective bargaining at the plant level was restricted to non-strategic issues. If one goes by Hyman and Mason’s (1995) categorisation, what is happening at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc was ‘mere involvement’ in decision making process based on the issues brought to the collective bargaining table and the two yearly negotiations by the industrial union while full participation can be said to be in place at Cadbury Worldwide UK Plc.

The issues of opening and closure of canteen is not strategic neither is where and when the staff buses will take off seen as a strategic decision but merger, de-merger, the sack of all members of the board and the stoppage of the production of Knorr cubes are strategic issues. The workers’ representatives at Cadbury Worldwide UK were informed at all the stages of the merger and the de-merger; while workers and their representatives at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc were not informed about the stoppage of the production of Knorr cubes and the transfer to Unilever (Nigeria) Plc as well as the sack of the Bunmi Oni - led board of directors: ‘*they*

heard it on radio, read it in the newspapers and saw it on televisions first it was after that they were informed by the management' (a worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc).

We attended many meetings doing the merger and de-merger process (employee of Cadbury Worldwide UK)

We try to meet them (management) over the Knorr issue but one HR man was told to tell us that the decision is beyoud us (en employee of Cadbury (Nigeria)Plc)

We woke up one morning and saw on the notice board that Knorr production will stop by the end of the month (an employee of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc)

We were assured that no job with be lost by the de-merger exercise (an employee of Cadbury Worldwide UK)

We knew there will be problem and this was raised at one of our meetings with management and discussions continued on it (de-merger) (an employee of Cadbury Worldwide UK)

The tables in 6.1(a.b.c.) below, graphically presents the findings and the interpretations.

Construct	Description of construct	Propositions	Sources	Evidence in the form of Core themes from the literature	Elaboration of propositions in Cadbury (UK) Plc and Cadbury (Nigeria) context	Questions asked	Evidence from Interview (Identify responses from interviewee(s) and an indicative short extracts(s) from one or more of the transcripts)	Interpretation of findings
C1	Relationship between industrialisation and industrial democracy	P1 “The more industrialised a country is, the more democratised and the more the clamour for industrial democracy in the workplaces in the country”	Kochan & Osterman (1994) Tower <i>et al.</i> , (1987) Hyman & Mason (1995)	Kochan & Osterman (1994): the authors pointed out that there had been a statistical increase in workers participation in decision making process, but not in the strategic decision making areas. Towers <i>et al.</i> , (1987): They identified three forms of workers’ participation: cosmetic, distributive and incorporative and concluded that most participation is cosmetic. Hyman & Mason (1995): They differentiated between the	EMERGENT THEME: Industrialisation and industrial democracy CADBURY UK PERSPECTIVE The management at Cadbury (UK) Plc do recognise and ‘respect’ the union. The plant union executives are granted time-off to ‘get educated’ in trade union related courses they are paid full salary for the period on such courses. CADBURY NIGERIA PERSPECTIVE: SUMMARY STATEMENT	What is your highest educational qualification? (Both set of workers were asked this question) Does the union organise courses for the executives? Do you perceive any relationship between the level of industrialisation in UK and participation in decision – making process? And How? Do you perceive any relationship between level	Interviews with Joe Clarke and others at Cadbury (UK) Plc clearly demonstrated that Cadbury workers in the United Kingdom participate in ‘ALL’ areas of decision making including pay, mergers, de-merges etc. This is contrary to Kochan & Osterman (1994) findings. Although at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc CB is at industrial levels and workers at the plant could not be said to be participating but only involved in decision making process. For example the union did not participate in the decision to bring back expatriates as MD, FD etc. They read must of the ‘happenings’ in the newspaper until ‘recently’ when they ‘were briefed’ by	The management and workers at Cadbury (UK) Plc agreed that because Britain has been industrialised for a long time they (management and workers) have gone through a learning curve and ‘accepted’ that workers MUST be made to participate in ALL areas of decision making process. Workers at Cadbury agree too. Unfortunately, they do not participate in ALL decision making process. (full discussions later) Workers at Cadbury (UK) Plc participate ‘actively’ both in the electoral processes in the larger society and very familiar with political parties activities as well as participate in trade union activities.

				<p>concepts of workers participation and involvement in decision –making process and recommended the former.</p>	<p>The plant union leader is granted ‘sabbatical’ leave to be full-time union leader, and still come back after the expiration of this period without loss or break of service. There are no such things at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc.</p>	<p>of industrialisation in Nigeria and participation of workers in decision making process? And how? Did any of your parents work in an industrial set-up?(Both the workers and management of both companies were asked this question)</p>	<p>‘someone’ from Britain. It was a decision from ‘abroad’. Participation at Cadbury (Nigeria) is ‘cosmetic’ in line with Tower <i>et al.</i>, (1987) findings.</p>	<p>Workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) do not participate in political parties activities as well as electoral processes .They only started participating in trade union activities ‘recently’.</p>
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Table:6.2(a)

Construct	Description of construct	Propositions	Sources	Evidence in the form of Core themes from the literature	Elaboration of propositions in Cadbury (UK) Plc and Cadbury (Nigeria) context	Questions asked	Evidence from Interview (Identify responses from interviewee(s) and an indicative short extracts(s) from one or more of the transcripts)	Interpretation of findings
C2	Relationship between Political democracy and Industrial democracy.	P2. “The more a society is politically democratised, the more the clamour for industrial democracy in the workplaces.”	Rugman & Hodgetts (2000)	Rugman & Hodgetts (2000): They claimed that in most countries except in Japan industrial democracy is linked to political democracy. In Japan industrial democracy is linked to family culture. The management is seen as the head of the family while the workers are the members of the family and both must work together for the survival of the family –the company-	Emergent Theme: Political Democracy & Industrial Democracy Cadbury UK Perspective Workers at Cadbury (UK) Plc participate in the political activities in the larger society: they belong to one party or the other, they are registered to vote and most of them do vote while some of them even play a very	Did you participate in the electoral process at all levels? Did you vote in the last elections? (If yes which political party or candidate did you vote for? If no why?) Are you a card-carrying member of any political party? If you don't mind which party? How often do you attend the trade union meeting or activity? (If yes why did you find it important to	Interviews with Joe Clarke and some of the workers at Cadbury (UK) Plc reveal that most of the workers participate in union activities because they participate in the political activities in the larger environment. The union leaders do not have the added burden of educated workers as to the advantages involved in participating actively. The workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) started participating actively only in 'the last two years'. The union executives at Cadbury (Nigeria)	Nearly all the workers at Cadbury (UK) Plc intend to retire at the company. Most workers especially the junior workers do not want to work till their retirement age. Some just want to leave Lagos while others want to set up their own 'little thing'. (Detailed discussions later)

				<p>The situation at Cadbury (UK) Plc is that of a mutual respect between the workers and the management while the treat of possible mass retrenchment is indirectly used by management at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc to keep the workers silent.</p>	<p>prominent role in their constituencies .It should be stressed that as far back as 1918 democratically elected Works Councils were already in place at the same Cadbury (UK) Plc .</p> <p>`Cadbury (Nigeria) Perspective Workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc do not participate in the political activities in their larger society. Some do not know the number and names of political parties in the country, most of the workers do not register to vote not to talk of belonging to a political party. This is because they feel that voting is a waste</p>	<p>attend? If no why did you not attend / participate?</p> <p>Do you intend to retire in this company?</p> <p>(Both categories of workers in the two companies were asked this question)</p>	<p>Plc have the added problem of educating members as to the benefits of participating in union activities unlike their counterparts in the UK.</p> <p>Union leaders at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc have experienced an unprecedented increase in interest of members in the last three years when a whole board of Nigerian directors was sacked including the very influential former Chairman and MD and replaced mostly with expatriate directors. The fear was that if this could happen to these people it's probably the union that can save their jobs.</p> <p>In the past, workers have a nonchalant attitude to trade union activities as they easily conclude that union leaders are like the politicians in the larger society: they – the union leaders-</p>	
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					<p>of time as the elections will always be rigged anyway.</p>	<p>are liars and therefore cannot and should not be trusted, corrupt , and selfish-</p> <p>A Rugman & Hodgetts (2000) finding is therefore upheld.</p> <p>The last strike at the Cadbury (UK) Plc (manufacturing) was over ten years ago. Although there was a ‘sympathy’ strike with the Cadbury International ‘some two years ago’. During strikes, the union pay between £50-£60 a week to each striking worker irrespective of their salaries. Management too could not afford to close down for a long time as a lot of damages will be done to the equipments which will cost a lot of money to replace. To guide against this unpleasant situation for both workers and management CB is done ‘daily and covers all issues.’ At Cadbury (Nigeria) workers on strike are</p>	
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							<p>not paid by their union, strikes are regarded as 'struggles'.</p> <p>When the question: 'Do you look forward to coming to work?' was asked, most of the workers at Cadbury (UK)Plc said Yes.</p>	
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Table:6.2(b)

Construct	Description of construct	Propositions	Sources	Evidence in the form of Core themes from the literature	Elaboration of propositions in Cadbury (UK) Plc and Cadbury (Nigeria) context	Questions asked	Evidence from Interview (Identify from responses from interviewee(s) and an indicative short extracts(s) from one or more of the transcripts)	Interpretation of findings
C3	Relationship between industrial democracy and industrial peace and productivity.	P3: “The more the prevalent of industrial democracy the more industrial peace and the increase the productivity”	Heller <i>et al.</i> , (1998)	The management at Cadbury (Nigeria) either knowingly or unknowingly succeeded in ‘silencing’ the workers.	<p>Cadbury UK Perspective</p> <p>Nearly all the workers at Cadbury (UK) Plc are aware of the union activities and participate actively. Most of the workers of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc are showing interest in union activities ‘now that their jobs are being threatened’.</p> <p>There has not been any industrial dispute in the last ten years at Cadbury (UK)</p>	<p>When was the last strike at Cadbury (UK) Plc?</p> <p>For how long was it?</p> <p>How much does it cost the Management and the Workers?</p> <p>Does the Union pay workers during strikes and if yes how much?</p> <p>When was the last strike at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc?</p> <p>For how long was it?</p> <p>Does the Union pay workers during strikes? If yes how</p>	<p>When the same question was asked at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc they said NO because they were not sure of who goes next.</p> <p>At Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc the treat of mass retrenchment is enough to deter workers from going on strike as the ‘economy of the country is very bad’.</p> <p>The workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc are very helpless for now so the relationship looks like that of a master and a ‘glorified servant’.</p>	<p>Workers at Cadbury (UK) Plc are paid £60 per week during strikes by their Union while workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc are not paid at all by the Union; they regard strikes as ‘struggles’.</p> <p>The last strike at Cadbury (UK) Plc was over ten years while at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc there are often general strikes or warning strikes declared by the National Union (NLC) or the Industrial Union .The Industrial Union ordered the workers to wear the uniform inside-out during the course of this research. (This will further be discussed in details).</p>

					<p>Plc. The industrial atmosphere is peaceful and very pleasant.</p> <p>Cadbury Nigeria Perspective</p> <p>At Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc there had not been any major industrial unrest at least in the plant too, but the industrial atmosphere is tense because as there is always a daily rumour of mass retrenchment. Presently the National Union has directed its members to wear their uniforms inside –out as a warning strike</p>	<p>much? If no why?</p> <p>If you come to this World again will you work with Cadbury?</p> <p>Will you allow your children to work for Cadbury?</p> <p>Do you look forward to coming to work?</p>		
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Table 6.2(c)

Source: Template provided by Prof. Nelarine Cornelius and developed by the author.

Evidences from interviews: *Here at Cadbury (UK) Plc CB is done every day and on every aspects of conditions of employment. Collective Bargaining is done always with Mr Richard Doyle - a senior management staff of Cadbury, (HR Director). This procedure has been in process for over fifty years as I said earlier on and this has been helped with the level of industrialisation and I need to inform you that the union representatives are well educated especially in the areas of negotiation skills. Remember that we are the first country to be industrialised and democracy (political) has been on for some time now. Do not forget that the workers union were involved in the setting up of the Labour Party. We play a lot of political roles both at work and during all elections (The, Regional Industrial Organiser, Unite Region 5 Midlands)*

At Cadbury (UK) Plc we are involved in all the decision-making process, even recently we are being briefed about the de-merger of Cadbury Schweppes and that the workers will not be adversely affected (a Cadbury (UK)Plc worker)

We discuss all issues with management including production processes, sales of our products etc (a Cadbury (UK) Plc worker)

I think we are told about what is going on in the company (a Cadbury (UK) Plc worker)

You know management now at times they have decided on some issues and only come to inform us (a Cadbury (UK) Plc worker)

Yes and No at times they have already made up their minds at times our contributions are asked for (a Cadbury (UK) Plc worker)

We are informed about all issues including the ongoing re-merger, we have even been assured that it is for our good and that of the company (A Cadbury (UK) Plc worker)

What is the essence of informing us when some workers will loose their jobs (A Cadbury (UK) Plc worker)

These quotations confirm the level of participation of workers in decision-making process at Cadbury (UK) Plc as well as recognising management prerogatives (please see 1.9)

What do you mean by CB? (Head of HR Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc).

Sorry it means Collective Bargaining, that is management and staff coming together to negotiate conditions of employment (interviewer).

Oh I think that is every two- year between the Nigerian Employers' Consultative association –NECA- and the National Union of Food and Beverages Workers Union-NUFBWU- (Head of HRi)

Have you been opportune to negotiate with the workers? (Interviewer)

None to date remember I came in on May 11th, 2007 because I am just staying in until a new HR Director is appointed; moreover most of the negotiations are done at the National level. I hope you are aware that the new HR Director - Emmanuel Imoagene from Nigerian Breweries Plc – will resume next month –October, 2008- Collective Bargaining is done mostly at the National (industrial) level (Head of HR).

I Joined August Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc on August 11th, 1993 as a Medical Doctor and rose to become the Company's Medical Adviser and on May 11th 2007, I was posted as Head of HR as an interim and as soon as a HR Director is appointed I will move on. CB is at national (industrial) level and mostly on salaries.

Do you believe CB is done at Cadbury (UK) Plc everyday and on every aspect of conditions employment? (Interviewer)

How is that done, any new thing to be discussed daily? (Head of HR).

It is every two years here, and union leaders are only given time off for meetings, staff participation at the workers level is now 100% while for the manager's (Food, Beverages and Tobacco Senior Staff Union Association) is about 80%. Obviously the level of political democracy and the level industrialisation do have serious impacts on workers participation (Head of HR).

The above narratives demonstrate the level of industrial participation at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. All the quotations show the relationship between industrialisation, political democracy and industrial/economic democracy.

Conclusion of 6.2

It can be concluded that because industrialisation started first in the UK and only came to Nigeria in the 1950's this affected the level of participation of workers in decision making. UK has more political democratic experience than Nigeria; this also could account for the level of participation of workers in decision making. Political democracy is problematic in Nigeria and in most former African British colonies as discussed in Chapter Two because of differences in culture. If culture has adversely affected political democracy and political democracy has adverse impact on industrial /economic democracy; it can then be suggested that culture has a great impact on industrial/economic democracy. The British Voluntarist employment relations is hinged on collective bargaining which is hinged on industrial/economic democracy which as the study demonstrates is hinged on political democracy which in turn is hinged on culture. Culture can then be said to have an enormous impact on the transfer of employment relations practice and other management practices.

6.3 P2: “The more a society is politically democratised, the more the clamour for industrial /economic democracy in the workplaces.” (See Table 6.2(b))

Findings: Political democracy is about electing the people to govern and how they should be governed (Bollen, 1980) invariably workers at Cadbury Worldwide UK participate actively in the elections of those to govern them and how to be governed in the larger society; while workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc do not. This study demonstrates that political democracy is the breeding ground for active participation in decision-making processes in the workplaces. It is logical to expect someone who participates in the political democracy –through voting and probably being a member of a political party to also participate in the industrial/economic democracy in the workplaces; this is because it has become a sub-culture.

Workers both junior and senior at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc do not participate actively in the political and electoral activities in the country - Nigeria-, either for personal or cultural reasons. Some of which include not wanting to vote for a President from the Northern part of the country, not believing in the political and electoral processes because of past experiences of rigging and other electoral malpractices, corruption, and general lack of interest and most importantly the issue of June 12 is still fresh in the workers’ memory. This has therefore been ‘*carried*’ into the workplaces.

Another issue is the fact that some workers do not see paid employment as an end in itself as they either want to start doing something of their own or want to leave Lagos for their villages; they therefore see participation in decision making process as ‘*a waste of time*’ as they will ‘*soon leave the job and Lagos any way*’ (A worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc). This is could also be explained through culture. As

mentioned in Chapter Two most ethnic groups in Nigeria refused to embrace the colonial wage employment; this is because only slaves work for another person and far away from home. More importantly the 'city culture' is yet to be embraced by most Nigerians; they still maintain a close link with their villages. Some are still looking forward to becoming a 'Bale' (head of the village) or bag a Chieftaincy title whenever they retire. Some will want to set up a small poultry or vegetable farm.

If one looks at the arrangements of political democracy and industrial/economic democracy in the United Kingdom and Nigeria, both have striking similarities. For example the executives of trade unions in the United Kingdom must conduct elections periodically just like in the political democracy where parties must go for elections periodically and the union executives can go for as many tenures as they want just as there are no fixed number of tenures for the British Prime Ministers (Middlemas, 1979; Bailey, 1978). In Nigeria, the trade union executives must conduct elections every four years and not more than two tenures just as Nigerian Presidents must relinquish office after two tenures of four years each (Yesufu, 1983; Ubeku, 1993).

Evidences from interviews: *Remember one of the main political parties –Labour Party – was put together by the workers and we have a culture of democracy so this has to be carried to the workplace. Trade unionism is also an old institution there is no doubt (about the fact that) the political democracy culture in the United Kingdom helps industrial democracy in the United Kingdom. Political democracy definitely assisted the industrial democracy, for example union representatives will always stand for election every four years and as many terms just like the Prime Minister of the country (A, Unite Regional Industrial Organiser, and Midland Region 5).*

Yes, I am a member of Labour Party and I am an executive member in my constituency; I am also a representative of my unit here (a worker at Cadbury (UK) Plc).

I belong to Labour Party I vote regularly and for Labour Party of course, although I am not comfortable with Gordon Brown as he does not possess the charisma of Tony Blair, I fear that people will prefer David Cameron- Leader of Conservative Party- to him. This is because David is younger and (more) handsome than Gordon (a worker at Cadbury (UK) Plc.

I belong to the Liberal Party and I vote regularly (a worker at Cadbury (UK) Plc)

I belong to Conservative Party and I vote regularly (a worker at Cadbury (UK) Plc)

I belong to Liberal Party and I vote regularly (a worker at Cadbury (UK) Plc)

I do not participate in elections as my religion (Jehovah witness) does not permit me to (a Cadbury (UK) Plc worker)

The above quotations demonstrate that most workers and most management staff at Cadbury (UK) Plc participate actively in political democracy and therefore will also participate actively in industrial democracy. The only worker not interested in politics cited religion as the reason.

No forget se we dey Nigeria o we never reach that stage me I now dey vote I no register self na the wahala and katakata for Cadbury make me dey come meetings now. The place (canteen) dey full now before Chairman dey beg make we come meetings (a worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc speaking in Pidgin English).

Interpretation in English Language: *Do not forget that we are in Nigeria, we have not reached that stage yet I did not vote –during the last general election - moreover I*

do not even register to vote and it is this crisis at Cadbury that made me and my colleagues participate in union activities these days, the canteen is always full now during union meetings, before the Chairman used to beg us to come for union meetings (a worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc).

Na now we just they attend meetings se you know this politics thing all na dabaru na man no man so I agree se as we no they vote nah in no make us join union but all the katakata for here don change things o (a worker of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc speaking in pidgin English)

Interpretation in English Language: *It was recently that we started active participation in union activities, this is because we believe that all politicians are liars and everything (in Nigeria) is based on personal contacts, so I agree that the political democracy affects industrial democracy it is the crisis at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc that makes us to now participate in union activities.*

You want make I go vote for that Hausa man NEVER (a worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc)

Interpretation in English Language: *Do you want me to vote for that Hausa man?*

Oga, if we vote or we no vote the Hausa man go enter, wetin I want from Abuja, politics for Nigeria na chop I chop (A Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc worker).

Interpretation in English Language *Big Boss Either we vote or we do not vote the Hausa man will be declared winner; moreover I do not want anything from Abuja, Politics in Nigeria is full of corruption.*

*I can only run for two terms of four years each just as the President of the country
(Chairman National Union of Food and Beverages Workers Union as well as the
Chairman of the Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc Workers Union)*

*I do not vote during general elections because it is a waste of time they only deceive
the masses (Trade union leader).*

*Don forget June 12 1993 when Abiola won the elections and Babangida refused to
make him President and Abiola died in prison (an employee of Cadbury (Nigeria)
Plc)*

Me to go and line up again after Abiola's case? God forbid

Interpretation : *I cannot go vote again after Abiola's case*

The quotations above - from interviews with Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc workers- support the fact that if a country is politically democratised the citizens will clamour for industrial/economic democracy in the workplaces.

Conclusion of 6.3

It can be concluded that participation in the political democracy process is the 'mother' of participation in the industrial/economic democracy process. This is because this study demonstrates that the same people that participated actively in political democracy (as done by employees of Cadbury Worldwide UK) ended up participating actively in the decision-making process in their various workplaces; just as those who do not participate in the political democracy process of their larger society (as done by workers at the Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc) ended up not participating in the industrial/economic democracy process of their various workplaces. The above findings therefore make it logical to accept that 'The more a society is politically

democratised, the more the clamour for industrial democracy in the workplaces', which is in line with the findings of Rugman & Hodgetts (2000).

It can also be concluded that there is a relationship between clamours for political democracy and clamours for industrial/economic democracy. This as demonstrated in the study, the same people in the larger society are also the same in the various workplaces. The study also demonstrates that the level of education could have an impact on the clamour for participations in both political democracy and industrial/economic democracy this is because the level of education of an average worker at Cadbury Worldwide UK is higher than the level of education of an average worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and the level of participations in the political democracy and industrial/economic democracy is higher with workers at Cadbury Worldwide UK and both are lower with workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc .

6.4 P3: “The more the prevalent of industrial/economic democracy the more industrial peace and the increase the productivity” (see Table 6.2(c))

Findings: At Cadbury (UK) Plc collective bargaining is done *daily and on ALL issues (trade unionist in UK)*. This definitely will reduce the areas of friction between workers and management and this probably accounted for lack of frequent strikes in the company. The last strike was over ten years (1998) and it was not the manufacturing sector that was directly involved; it was a sympathy strike with another arm of the company. Management greatly regretted their inability to convince the manufacturing sector not to join in the strike as the cost was enormous both in terms of man hours lost as well as to the equipments. This was because the baking machines and some other machines should not be abruptly stopped as was done during the last

strike; moreover the market share of Cadbury was threatened during the period when there was no production of the company's products and their customers had to shift to that of the competitors like Mars and Nestle chocolate.

The situation at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc was a bit confusing and inconclusive as the last strike at the plant level was over twenty - five years but there were frequent strikes ordered by the National Union –Nigeria Labour Congress or the Industrial Union- National Union of Food and Beverages and Tobacco Employees (NUFBTE). The workers have no choice just as management cannot persuade the workers not to obey either their national or industrial unions. The industrial union of the junior staff of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc is The National Union of Food, Beverages, Tobacco Employees Workers' Union (NUFBITE) which is affiliated to the National Labour Congress (NLC) and each time NLC declares an industrial action usually against the Federal Government of Nigeria, workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc must join. It is very doubtful if workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc could ever on their own initiate a strike without instructions from the national or industrial union.

The de-merger exercises of Cadbury Schweppes as well as the sack of the entire Bunmi Oni - led management of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc were two main events that could be used to test the level of industrial/economic democracy performances in both plants. As mentioned earlier in Chapter Two a loss of job by a Nigerian wage employment worker is a loss of food or even livelihood to so many extended family members; so the industrial workers will be very careful as to their involvements in trade union activities; the trade union leaders too are careful as to what their demands are, not only because of fear of losing their jobs but also because of cultural issues

regarding not '*fighting*' one who feeds you. Going on strike is regarded as *fighting* your employer.

Another issue closely related to this is, is the fact that most Nigerian Personnel Managers according to Ubeku (1984) employ people from their clans or even family members (both immediate and extended family members); so to plan to or even think about going on strike is like biting the finger that feeds one; which culturally is not acceptable. Management of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc capitalised on this and failed to inform the workers in good time as regards what was happening to the board of directors during the scandal. The workers were only informed after the Nigerian Press published all the facts and figures, it was then that management felt that there was nothing to hide anymore. Even at this stage management from the UK claimed not to be aware of the magnitude of the crisis; unfortunately some workers had all the facts and figures and one is not even sure if the press did not get their facts and figures from some of the workers or even the union –this will be proved in Chapter Eight.

On the other hand, the de-merger exercise of Cadbury Schweppes was handled more professionally by the management at Cadbury (UK) Plc as workers were guaranteed their jobs and were assured that the de-merger exercise was in the interest of the company and of every-one. Workers were informed at every stage of the negotiations of the de-merger. Secondly, collective bargaining was mostly at plant level and in as much as the plant was not adversely affected by the de-merger exercise the workers were very '*relaxed*' (*a worker at Cadbury (UK) Plc*).

Thirdly, most of the workers at Cadbury Birmingham saw the de-merger coming as the British workers were not *'too comfortable'* with the merger that favoured the Americans and the American management style or practice which was alienating to the 'Britishness' of Cadbury - a pride of Britain and the Quakers (*a worker at Cadbury (UK) Plc*). The Americans who were in the driving seats were not happy with *'some work ethics'* of an average British worker which was not in total conformity with the *"American capitalism and America management style, invariably the 'marriage' was doomed for separation"* (*an American Manager*)

The British workers will ask for day off to attend the burial of a neighbour's

Burial or even to take the cat to the vet, oh when Birmingham Football Club was promoted to the Premiership most of them were drunk and have to go back home while some did not come at all (an American Manager)

The above quotations demonstrate the impact of culture on management practices even between citizens of economically developed countries-UK and USA.

It must be stated that lack of frequency of strikes at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc does not in any way translate to the prevalence of industrial/economic democracy and industrial peace because the lack of strike was due to some other cultural factors. One of which unfortunately is lack of commitment to the workplace. Most Nigeria workers do not perceive working in industries as an end in itself; it is seen as just a means to an end. Most of the workers interviewed at Cadbury Worldwide UK saw working in the firm as an end in itself and they want to make it a better place and one of the ways to make it a better place is to play an active role in the decision making process. Workers at Cadbury Worldwide UK are always eager to attend union meetings and ready to contribute their opinions and definitely ready to vote or be voted for during union

elections; all because working in the plant is an end in itself and also an ego booster. They are also respected in the Birmingham city because of the contributions of the founding fathers – the Cadbury family - to the city. This was demonstrated during the threat of mass boycott of Tesco if the company attempts to open a store at the Bourneville village. This is because it will mean that alcoholic drinks will be sold at the ‘Quaker’ village; Tesco withdrew the applications.

At Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc, most of the workers are only waiting patiently for their gratuities so as to start a new life mostly in their villages. The job is just a means to another end; which is going back to the village or setting up a small business in Lagos. Commitment is lacking and they just want to pass their times and nothing more. Joining unions or being a union leader is therefore out of the question. Most of the workers interviewed were not bothered about the implications of the sacked Nigerian directors. All they wanted is their gratuities to be safe even if all the directors are now expatriates; actually they have more faith in the expatriate’s directors than the Nigerian directors; as they have been let down by the Bunmi Oni – led board of directors.

This is not because they are thinking of what is good for the company but just for the ‘*safety*’ of their pensions and gratuities. The implication of this is that a Nigerian worker will not want to play any active part in trade unionism since he is not committed while a British worker will want to actively participate in trade unionism because he is committed to the well-being of the company. A peaceful industrial environment at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc is therefore not necessarily because of the prevalence of industrial/economic democracy.

Evidences from interviews: *I have not witnessed any strike since 1993 when I joined the company (Head HR Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc).*

The only strike at Cadbury (UK) Plc was over 10years ago and it was a sympathy strike (A Unite trade union leader)

In the last twenty years I have not witnessed any strike in Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc except the ones declared by the National Labour Congress (NLC) or the usual 'struggles' like the present wearing of our overall inside out declared by National Union of Food , Beverages and Tobacco Employees , NEVER an in-plant strike in the last twenty years (a Nigerian Cadbury trade union leader).

We only go on strike when NLC is fighting government (a Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc employee)

No since I joined the company except Abiol's strike (a Cadbury (Nigeria)Plc employee

The quotations above justify that there had not been any company based strike except those ordered by NLC at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc in the last twenty five years.

From the beginning, the drinks section has always been managed differently from the chocolate manufacturing section, so it - the de-merger - did not really have any impact in our collective bargaining (A Unite trade union leader)

Actually we saw this – de-merger - coming because the Americans were not like us, you know what I mean. They are always after profit not thinking about the fact that everything must have some human touch (a British worker at Cadbury (UK) Plc).

The British are too lazy, they ask for too much of tea breaks and always looking forward to bank holidays (an American Cadbury Schweppes Plc manager).

The above quotations justify that workers at Cadbury (UK) Plc were aware of the de-merger exercise and that culture plays a significant role in management practices even among the citizens of developed countries- USA and UK. .

We noticed that we were not selling and the company was hiring warehouses around to store the products and later a lot of the products were being destroyed so we were all crying that the 'oyinbo's' –expatriates- should come back and take over their business. I am not sympathetic with Bunmi Oni (former MD) because he got what he desired. Some of us talked to him but he did not open up. The way the company was going we would have lost our pensions because they- Bunmi Oni led- board- owed a lot of banks. Can you imagine Bunmi Oni was still paying dividends? (A Cadbury (Nigeria) trade union leader))

Wetin we fit do? Weh the work for Nigger we man go apply for (A Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc worker speaking in pidgin English)

English language interpretation: *What can one do? Where is the work in Nigeria that one can apply to? (A Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc worker).*

We knew something was wrong as the body – language of management was not right they all looked tensed - up every time. The management do not handle it - the crisis - well (Kunle Babalola, Chairman Food Beverages& Tobacco Senior Staff Workers Association (Cadbury Nigeria Plc)

This is a very good place to work, are you aware that this company is responsible for the existence of Birmingham (city)? (A Cadbury (UK) Plc worker).

There are a lot of respects for us from the city dwellers (a Cadbury (UK) Plc)

Why do you think we are against Tesco coming to Bournville? It is to protect our heritage, if they come, beer and alcohol, will be sold freely here, George and John

(Cadbury) will turn in their graves and prosperity will not forgive us .(a Cadbury (UK)Plc).

Oga wetting be my own even if all the directors are expatriates I no care , I just want my gratuity by 2015 (a worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc speaking in pidgin English)

English language interpretation: *Boss, I just want my gratuity to be safe by 2015, I am not bothered about who the directors are even if they are all expatriate.*

I am not interested in who is the director, although I prefer the 'oyinbos' (expatriates) they will make sure that my gratuity is paid (a worker at Cadbury (Nigeria).

The above quotations support the fact that workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc were aware of the fact that there was a problem with the Bunmi Oni led- management but there was no avenue created to express their fears. The quotations also show the pride of working at Cadbury (UK) Plc.

Conclusion of 6.4

There is the possibility of some impacts of participation in decision making process (industrial/economic democracy) on industrial peace and productivity at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc but this is inclusive as stated earlier. This is because of the fact that there seems to be industrial harmony at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc but this does not point to the fact that there is industrial peace. At Cadbury Worldwide UK one can conclude that there is a close relationship between industrial/economic democracy, industrial peace and increase productivity; this is because both management and workers suffered a great loss in the last *sympathy strike*. Both parties promised to guide against future occurrence which can only be done through genuine practice of industrial/economic democracy. The workers were only paid *strike allowances* by their union while management lost the services of workers as there was no production and had to

replace the damaged baking machines. Some workers had to also be sent on further trainings on how to operate the new machines before being allowed to work on them. Some of the workers too '*missed*' their old machines and had to get used to the new ones which slowed down their productivities.

6.5 P4: “the farther away the Hofstede’s (1980, 2001) ‘power distance’, the more likely will the managers see themselves as ‘lords’ and see the workers as ‘servants’ or subordinates; the nearer the Hofstede’s (1980, 2001) ‘power distance’, the more managers see the workers as colleagues and partners in progress” ; AND Hofstede’s (1980, 2001) ‘cultural dimensions’

Power distance: inequalities exist in all aspects of life, in the family, in the school, at work, in the various religious groups and in the political systems; inequality can occur in various areas in the society which include: wealth, power, social status and prestige, laws (rights, rules and privileges) (Hofstede, 2001:80). In work environments there exist inequality based on ‘abilities and inequality of power’, this inequality is very important to ‘control and for temporary overcoming the law of entropy, which states that disorder will increase’ (Cotta, 1976:176).

Michels (1915/1962:342) reports that even in egalitarian organisations, there are recognised ‘power elites’ or the ‘iron law of oligarchy’. Mulder (1977:90) defines power as ‘the potential to determine or direct (to a certain extent) the behaviour of another person or other persons more so than the other way round’; power distance according to Mulder (1977: 90-91) is therefore ‘the degree of inequality in power between a less powerful Individual (I) and a more powerful Other (O), in which I and

O belong to the same (loosely or tightly knit) social syatem'. Hofstede (1976:11) suggests the following as guides for opertionalising 'power cdistance': 'fear of the boss'; 'perceived behaviour of the boss' and 'dependence needs'. The result when tested (using the narratives from the respondences) on the workers and managers of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and Cadbury Worldwide (UK) is shown graphically below:

Responses from Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc	Responses from Cadbury Worldwide UK
<p>Question: (1) Do you fear your manager Or respect him/her?</p> <p>(2): Do you disagree with your managers?</p>	<p>Question: (1) Do you fear your manager or respect him/her?</p> <p>(2) Do you disagree with your managers?</p>
<p>20 of the 20 respondences 'fear' the manager; and also 'Respect' the managers because the Bible and the Koran both instructed them to.</p> <p>20 of the 20 respondences have no reason to disagree with the managers.</p>	<p>18 out of 20 respondences only 'respect' the mangers because '<i>we are all colleagues</i>'</p> <p>2 felt that they will 'only respect' managers that respect them; but 'fear' is totally out of the issue.</p> <p>18 of the 18 respondences have at least one occasion when they have disagree with the managers</p>

Evidences from the narratives: All the Nigerian workers interviewed ‘fear’ and ‘respect’ the managers; they (the managers) are referred to as ‘oga’ (boss) or addressed as ‘sir’. This is mainly because the Bible (the Christain’s Book) and the Koran (the Muslem’s Book) instructed that they must obey those in authority since they are installed in the position by God. The managers and the workers have separate canteen (the food in the management canteen taste better than the food in the workers canteen); the manager’s are entitled to car loan’s so do not ride in the same company’s bus as the workers. Majority (18 out of 20) of the workers at the Cadbury Worldwide UK interviewed do not ‘fear’ the managers but do respect the managers. Managers are addressed by the first names and both managers and workers occasional belong to the same political party, support the same football team and go to the same ‘pub’. They both respect each other.

Majority of the Nigerian workers interviewed at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc said that they do not express any disagreement with management as they do not have any reason to disagree; moreover the ‘oga’s’ (boss) must be *respected since it is God that put them in the position and it is only God that can remove them*. The British workers see the managers as colleagues and can be approached anytime, some workers and managers support the same football team (Birmingham Football Club). The implication of this on ERP is that bargaining can be freely done (and it is) at Cadbury Worldwide (UK) than in Nigeria where there is a wide ‘power distance’. The recruitment process in Nigeria can also be made to account for this (apart from the cultural perspective of obeying those in power because they are are chosen by God and responsible only to Him); the managers will be more comfortable to recruit their kinsmen. Again there is the cultural issue of not ‘fighting’ the person that is providing one with food.

Management is therefore likened to the 'Oba's', 'Obi's', and 'Emir's' who have been divinely chosen by God.

Uncertainty avoidance: Life is full of uncertainties about the future as it 'goes only one way. We are caught in a present that is just an infinitesimal borderline between past and future' and this is 'a basic fact of human life with which we try to cope through the domains of technology, law, and religion'; in organisations coping with uncertainty about future is done mainly through technology, rules, and rituals. This is because extreme uncertainty brings about unbearable anxiety (Hofstede, 2001:145-146). He (2001:146) refers to technology as 'all human artefacts', while religion is 'all revealed knowledge of the unknown' and law is 'all formal and informal rules that guide social behaviour'. Technology is used to help in defending human beings against uncertainties caused by the nature; laws are used to guide against uncertainties in the behaviours of other human beings while religion helps against uncertainties human beings cannot defend themselves (Ibid, 2001:146-147).

Hofstede (2001:148) distinguishes between 'uncertainty avoidance' and 'risk avoidance'; uncertainty avoidance goes with anxiety while risk avoidance goes with fear. Risk focuses on an event while fear focuses on an object; risk is usually expressed in 'a percentage that of probability that a particular event will happen' while anxiety and uncertainty feelings that are diffused, anxiety goes without any object while uncertainty has no probability. Uncertainty is a situation whereby anything can happen.

Evidences from the narratives: Most of the Nigerian workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc cope with uncertainty by relying on their various religions. This was substantiated through their reactions to the sacked of the Bunmi Oni led board of directors, when they were asked how they coped with the sack of all the Nigerian directors, some of their responses are as follows:

Me I went to my Pastor and him tell me say make I go pray (a Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc Worker)

Interpretation: I went to my Pastor and he told me to pray and fast

My life no day for any man hand, but dey for my creator, I dey pay my tittles (a Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc worker)

Interpretation: My life is not in the hands of any man, moreover I pay 10% of my earnings as directed by the Scriptures (Holy Bible)

We declared seven days of fasting and we pray after 6 p.m; after the seventh day a vision came that we are not going to be sacked and that the company will get out of the crisis stronger (Union leader Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc

We go mosques and the Imam dey pray for us (a Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc worker

Interpretation: We went to our mosques and the Imam prayed for us

Wetin man go do than pray and fast and HE will protect our jobs

Interpretation: What can we do than pray, and we are sure that He will answer our prayers

When the workers at Cadbury Worldwide (UK) were faced with the uncertainty of loosing their jobs with the imminent take over of the company by Krafts, they resulted to political lobbying through their various MP's while the trade union (UNITE) made representations to the then Prime Minister (Gordon Brown) to intervene; the PM

invited the management of Krafts and asked for an undertaking that no job will be lost. Krafts gave the undertaking but unfortunately failed to keep their words as Somerdale factory was closed down within the first 100 days of the takeover and productions shifted to Poland. Unite also made effective use of the mass media thereby turning public opinion against the buyers, Krafts.

The implication of this is that workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc will take anything that happens to them as from God and will rather remain silent and pray rather than taking any practical step; their counterparts at Cadbury Worldwide UK will rather take practical steps to address the issues rather than leaving it in the hands of God. They were convinced that their destinies are in their hands and not in the hands of God. The findings are graphically shown below:

Responses from Cadbury Nigeria	Responses from Cadbury UK
Question: How did you cope with the incident of the sacked directors especially with the fear that the company will be closed down?	Question: How are you handling the issue of the sales of the company and the fear that jobs will be lost?
15 went to pray in the mosques and the churches 1 was indifferent	14 felt the union will be able to handle it; and that the government will have to be involved 2 felt that in as much as benefits and

1 union leader gave some documents to the press boys (<i>he begged not to be identified</i>)	pensions will see them through
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Individualism and collectivism: This is the relationship between the individual and ‘the collectivity that prevails in a given society. It is reflected in the way people live together --- for example, in the nuclear families, extended families, or tribes- and it has many implications for values and behaviours; ----- it is intimately linked with societal norms’. (Hofstede, 2001:209-210). He (2001:210) suggests that this also affects people’s mental programming as well as ‘the structure and functioning of many institutions aside the family: education, religious, political, and utilitarian. The central element in our mental programming involved ----- is the self-concept’. Riesman *et al.*, (1953:33) argue that ‘----. The tradition-directed person ----- hardly thinks of himself as an individual’. Hofstede (2001:215) associates individualism with the West and collectivism with the East.

Evidences from the narratives

About 97.8% of the Nigerian workers interviewed at Cadbury (Nigeria) plc still maintained a very close contact with their extended family members in the villages, some are even Chief’s (head of clan) and probably looking forward to been installed the ‘Oba’ or ‘Bale’ of their various villages; while others want to retire to their villages; they can therefore be categorised as Hofstede’s (2001) ‘collectivism’, they love their traditional society.

Me I dey go home every week end and my second wife self dey village (a worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc

Interpretation: I go home every week end; moreover my second wife is in the village I be Chief for my village, I fit become Bale self, I dey pray make a retire quick and go home go settle (a Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc worker)

Interpretation: I am a Chief in my village, I will soon become the Bale, I am praying to retire and go back to my village

Most of the workers interviewed at Cadbury Worldwide (UK) can comfortably be categorised under the Hofstede's (2001) 'collectivism'. Some are born in Birmingham, went to colleges and universities around Birmingham and work at Cadbury Birmingham. They are more concerned about their nuclear family, enjoy their private lives, want individual financial security and love Hofstede's (2001:227) 'modern and postmodern' society.

I love it here (Birmingham), my wife and son love Birmingham (a worker at Cadbury Birmingham)

The only 'home' I know is Birmingham (a worker at Cadbury Birmingham)

I am told my cousin's are in Australia, I have never seen them and I do not plan to see them, though we chat on-line occasionally (a worker at Cadbury Birmingham).

The implication of this is that workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc see working at the company as a means to another end and not an end in itself. The end is to go back to the villages and be engaged in other things so it is this end that is important so their stay at the company is just for a short time and this reduces their participation in the affairs of the organisation. Their counterparts at Cadbury Worldwide UK see working

at the organisation as an end in itself and will do everything possible to contribute to the affairs of the organisation.

Masculinity and Femininity: this fourth Hofstede's cultural dimension is expressed in the differences in sexes, genders, and gender roles (Hofstede, 2001:279). Most of the male workers interviewed at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc prefer to have a male manager rather than a female manager; female managers are seen as '*unnecessarily tough, arrogant and always wanting to show that they are in control*'. The male managers are perceived as being '*understanding, easily approachable and extremely a good person*'. On the other hand the workers interviewed at Cadbury Worldwide (UK) are very indifferent and happy to work under a female manager because '*they are motherly, more understanding, and more painstaking*'.

The implication of this is that the women at Cadbury Worldwide UK will be able to advance in their careers and be able to express themselves more and this probably account for why there are more women managers at the organisation than at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc.

Long versus Short-Term Orientation: this is the fifth Hofstede's (2001:351) cultural dimension which is independent of the four cultural dimensions discussed above. Businesses in Long-term-oriented cultures 'are accustomed to working toward building up strong positions in their markets; they do not expect immediate results' while the 'managers (often family members) are allowed time and resources to make their own contributions'. The bottom line (the results of the past month, quarter, or year) in businesses in Short-term cultures 'is a major concern; control systems are focussed on it and managers are constantly judged by it'; invariably managers are

‘rewarded or victimised by today’s bottom line even where it is clearly the outcome of decisions made by their predecessors’. (Hofstede, 2001:361). He (2001:356-358) categorised the Western countries (UK and Nigeria inclusive) in the Short-term Orientation and the Eastern countries in the Long-term Orientation. This categorisation is confirmed in the narratives as both companies belong to the same multinational group (Cadbury Worldwide).

The implication of this is that countries higher on the Long-term orientation (East Asian countries) are more likely to witness more economic growth than countries on the Short-term orientation (Nigeria, UK) ; this according to Hofstede (2001:351) explains the ‘explosive growth of the East Asian countries in the latter part of the 20th century’.

6.6 Job satisfaction in both plants compared based on the findings

According to Kalleberg, (1977:126) job satisfaction refers ‘to an overall affective orientation on the individuals towards work role which they are presently occupying’. Porter *et al.* (1974); Robert *et al* (2006) and Eisenberg *et al* (1990) suggest that there is a link between job satisfaction and organisational commitment while Eisenberg *et al.* (1990:51) suggest that organisational commitment is the ‘trade of effort and loyalty for material benefits and social rewards’, they went further to suggest that organisational commitment ‘emphasizes the employee’s sense of unity and shared values with the organisation’. Gouldner (1960) adds that recipient of benefit should be expected morally to be obligated to recompense the donor of the benefit. It is based on the above definitions and explanations that job satisfaction will be discussed.

To study job satisfaction in both plants, workers were asked the question, ‘if you come to this world again will you work at Cadbury?’ This is based on the general cultural believe that human beings are likely to come back to this world. It is expected that if given the opportunity one might do things differently if it was not pleasing at the first attempt but one is likely to repeat things that are pleasing if given the opportunity to come back to this planet. When workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc were asked the question: if you come to this World again will you work with Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc? Most of the junior workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc said ‘*NEVER*’, while some said they will want to come back to this world to work as supervisors or managers. Even some of the senior workers do not want to come back to this planet and work at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc.

When the same workers were asked: will you encourage your son/daughter to work at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc?, nearly all the junior workers do not want to encourage their children to come and work at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. Few of the workers will not mind if their children will come and work as managers definitely not as junior workers. When the same questions were asked at Cadbury (UK) Plc most of the workers both junior and senior management workers will want to come back to this world to work at Cadbury (UK) Plc and probably doing the same jobs. Most of them will also want to encourage their children to come and work with Cadbury Worldwide UK and in ‘*any capacity*’.

One can deduce from these narratives that most of the workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc are not happy or satisfy working with the company while most of the workers at Cadbury Worldwide UK are very happy or satisfy with working at the company.

When another question was asked: –Do you look forward to coming to work daily? Most of the junior workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc answered ‘*NO*’ while most of the senior workers answered ‘*YES*’. When the same question was asked from workers at Cadbury Worldwide UK most of the workers said ‘*YES*’, two workers even said that they ‘*don’t look forward to weekends because I will miss both the company my colleagues*’.

An average worker either junior or senior at Cadbury Worldwide UK is happier working at the plant than an average worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. The reason for this was inconclusive. This was because of the fact that most of the junior workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc will prefer working for themselves and outside Lagos and workers at Cadbury Worldwide UK were just comfortable working for the company basically because wage employment and living in big cities are relatively new phenomena in Nigeria as a newly industrialised country while such things are the order of the day in the United Kingdom especially because the country has been industrialised for centuries. This is in line with the findings of Yesufu (1982) (please see Chapter Two). Most of the workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc are against working in Lagos, this has nothing to do with the company; it is just that most of the people are still used to staying in their villages and not in the relatively new industrial cities.

One was quite surprised that the situation in 1982 has not changed in 2009 as the findings of Yesufu (1982) about the mentality of Nigerian industrial worker is still relevant today (2009). This confirms how difficult it is for culture to change or better still be changed. A lot of workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc are from the villages and towns around the country and they still go home on holidays and even on week-ends.

They owed a lot of allegiances to their villages and towns and not to Lagos. The work and the location in Lagos do not seem pleasing to a lot of the workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. It therefore has nothing to do with the company in particular; it is just a socio-cultural issue.

This is unlike the situation at Cadbury Worldwide UK where most of the workers are used to life in the cities, and most of the workers are born in Birmingham or towns/cities around Birmingham. They are used to city life although most of them do not want to come to London mainly because of the very high living expenses compared with that of Birmingham. The operational definition of cities and villages between the two countries – Nigeria and the UK is different; a typical Nigerian village lacks all the essential social amenities like water, good roads and electricity lights that are available in a typical village in UK; yet most Nigerian workers still prefer that villages without pipe-borne water and electricity to Lagos. The issue is that workers at Cadbury Worldwide UK are not intimidated by city life as workers of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc are.

Evidences from interviews: *Me to come to this world again and still dey work for Cadbury God forbid, my pickin no go work for Cadbury o (a worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc, speaking in pidgin English)*

English language interpretation: *If I come back to this world, I will not want to work at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and I will not want any of my children to work at the company.*

Me I whant work for myself o never again this work get too much wahala, (a Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc speaking in Pidgin English).

English language interpretation: *I will want to set up a business; this work is too strenuous (a worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc).*

Me I just dey look for money to set up my business, I don spend eighteen years I just dey wait for two year more make I take my pension and gratuity. I dey go back to my village (A Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc worker speaking in Pidgin English).

English language interpretation: *I am only waiting for two more years I have spent eighteen years already I want to collect my pension and gratuity then I will go back to my village (a Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc worker).*

I no want my children work here as me too dey go village soon; this Lagos wahala too much, you no see as man don old to chop ma wahala , to enter bus na wahala, to pay rent na wahala I don finish my house for village (A Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc worker speaking in Pidgin English .

English language interpretation: *I want to go back to my village and I do not want my children to work at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. Life in Lagos is too hectic; for example rent is too high, transportation is expensive and I have completed building my house in my village(a worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc).*

Definitely yes I want to come back to Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and yes I will allow my children to work at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc but I will want to work for myself if I have the means (an employee of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc)

Yes and No I will want to work as a manager and wish my children too will work as managers (a worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc).

My mum and her father worked with Cadbury, so I won't mind if my children want to work here; after all it is their choice (a worker at Cadbury (UK) Plc).

Yes if I come to this world again I want to work at Cadbury and as a machinist. For now I don't look forward to retirement because I will miss my friends and my machines (a worker at Cadbury (UK) Plc).

My parents met here and I am also happy working here, I can't imagine working elsewhere so I will encourage my children to work here (a Cadbury (UK) Plc worker).

It is interesting working here and in Birmingham, so my children can work here, I will encourage them to work here (a Cadbury Worldwide UK worker)

These quotations justify the various reasons why workers at Cadbury Worldwide UK) could be said to be more satisfied with wage employment in general and working at Cadbury (UK) Plc in particular. The narratives also justify why workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc do not enjoy working in industries located in the cities generally and Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc in particular.

6.7 Use of culture in collective bargaining: the case of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc.

It was interesting to discover that during the course of this research the junior workers' at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc were seen wearing their company's overall uniform inside out. Upon investigation, it was discovered that the industrial union –National Union of Food, Beverages and Tobacco Employees Union - directed all its members to do this because of a breakdown in negotiations over salary increase at the industrial level which has been ongoing in the last eighteen months.

In the traditional Yoruba culture (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc is located in Lagos, majority of whom are Yorubas) this deliberate act of wearing clothes inside out was done at the onset of wars, during wars, defeats in very important wars, mourning of a loved Oba or a loved one, as a way of protest as was done by the Egba women when they were ordered to pay tax by the colonial masters and if one is not mentally balanced; whatever, it is seen as a bad omen (Hallen, 2000; Ojo, 1967). There is also a superstition among the Yorubas that if one wears his or her clothes inside-out unknowingly or by mistake one is likely to be financially favoured during the course of the day. This has now been brought into collective bargaining because according to the Chairman of the Workers Union in Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc *'it is a struggle and everything must be put into it to win'*.

This strategy worked in the past because members of the Employers' Association were aware of the fact that if something positive is not done and in good time the consequences will be disastrous in form of foreign objects getting into the company's products apart from the fact that such a practice is generally not hygienic and also not decent. Moreover, the Nigerian Federal Government regulatory body, National Agency for Food and Drugs Administration and Control (NAFDAC) might be forced to come into the factory/factories and the factory/factories might be closed down. It has therefore worked in the past not because of the negotiation skills of the workers but for the fear of Dunlop's (1993) third party and its agencies – the State/ its agencies in the Nigerian employment relations system; but as a bargaining strategy it has worked and will always work.

Although the Chairman of the Union stressed that his members will not deliberately allow foreign objects in form of loose threads from the overall worn inside out to get into the products. This cannot be guaranteed as the workers are directly involved in production and the loose threads were visibly seen hanging around their uniforms. If this had continued for twenty-one days declared by the industrial union anything could have happened. It is interesting to report that after two days of the wearing of the uniforms inside-out the Employers' Association quickly resumed negotiations with the workers' union.

It was rumoured that Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc quickly called on other company members of NECA (the employers' association) to resume negotiations. This might be because most of the members of the new Board of Directors are expatriates who are very passionate about products qualities. It might also be because the company was just getting out of one scandal and can therefore not afford another one. It is therefore obvious that this strategy worked; culture has now again been brought into employment relations practice through collective bargaining strategy. The Hofstede's (1980,2001) cultural dimensions will now be used below to explain some cultural disparities between the Nigerians workers (at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc) and the British workers (at the Cdabury Worldwide UK) especially as it relates to work and the management practices in workplaces.

6.8 Chapter conclusion

It can be concluded that culture (using the secondary sources, narratives and the Hofstede's (1980, 2001) 'cultural dimensions') plays important roles in the challenges faced by the introduction and transfer of the British Voluntarist employment relations practice (as well as other management practices). It is even more challenging now because Nigerians are at a crossroad as they are not sure whether to go back to the Paternalistic employment relations system and modernise it so as to be able to meet their contemporary needs; or drop it and totally embrace the British Voluntarist employment relations system; which is impossible because it was not developed with the socio-cultural realities of Nigerians in mind. This is especially so as the 'Federal Charter' has failed. It could therefore be generally concluded that socio-cultural factors will affect the transfer of employment relations practice and other management practices from one cultural area to another cultural area.

This will invariably not make it easy for an employment relations practice template in particular and management practices templates in general to be devised or designed in one cultural area and be transferred to another cultural area. This is because as established in the study every society or groups of people no matter how small or 'primitive' would have formulated and developed their own management practices employment relations practice inclusive based on their socio-cultural realities. This and other related issues will be dealt with in Chapters Seven and Eight. **(Please note that the identities of most of the workers interviewed especially those at Cadbury Worldwide (UK) have not been disclosed directly or indirectly for ethical reasons as discussed in Chapter Four)**

Chapter Seven: Discussions

7.0 Introduction

As the study is nearing completion, this chapter will summarise the major academic contributions, as well as discuss the impacts of the findings on the two countries – Nigeria and the United Kingdom and on the companies – Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc, Cadbury Worldwide (the parent company) and Cadbury Worldwide UK (the Birmingham plant).

7.1 Academic contributions of the research

Most of the writings on comparative employment/industrial relations practice including that of Bamber and Lansbury (1998); Hosftede (1980b); Bamber and Leggett (2001) Van-Ruyseveldt *et al.* (1995); Brewster (2007); Thelen and Kume (2003) and Locke *et al.* (1995) were focussed on the economically developed countries of Europe, USA, Australia, Canada, Asia Pacific Region and New Zealand. Not much has been written between the economically developing/underdeveloped African countries and the economically developed countries of the world.

Unfortunately, as this study has revealed much can be done between the developing/underdeveloped African countries and the economically developed countries of the world especially with the present (2009) global economic crisis; which has badly hit most multinational companies (MNC's). Most of these MNCs have to search for new geographical areas in which to invest; the Africa continent offers itself as a good alternative especially with the availability of abundant human and natural resources in the continent (Asiedu, 2006). This research which is a comparative study of the employment/industrial relations practice of Nigeria (a

developing economy) and that of the UK (a developed economy) is therefore a major academic contribution both to the employment/industrial relations discipline in particular as well as to the discipline of management and management practices in general.

This study identified the legacies of imperialism on management practices (political democracy inclusive) in general and employment/industrial relations practice in particular and was able to account for the failures in Nigeria and most former African British colonies. As was discussed extensively in the course of the study, Nigeria and Nigerians (and most former British colonies) are the creations of the British colonialists and for their (the British colonialists) economic benefits. Nigeria (and most former British colonies) and Nigerians today are made to operate political and economic systems (which are part of the legacies of imperialism) that are foreign to them; one is therefore not surprised that these 'imported' management practices failed.

The inability of Nigerians to effectively and efficiently operate the imported British type of political system (Parliamentary political democracy) led to the various military coups and the civil war of 1967-1970 (Dudley, 1968; Dike, 2001). While the inability of Nigerians to effectively and efficiently operate the imported British type of economic system (capitalism and market economy) led to the endemic financial corruptions which led to the economic underdevelopment of the country despite the availability of abundant human and natural resources (Brownsberger, 1983; Dike, 2004). This is an academic contribution.

Dunlop (1993) identified and recommended three main 'actors' in any industrial/employment relations system; workers represented by their unions, employers usually represented by their employers' association and the State through its agencies. This study discovered what can be referred to as the fourth 'actor' which might not be noticed but always present in any industrial/employment relations system; this 'actor' is 'culture'.

It was recorded in the study that the workers' union of NUFBWU (National Union of Food and Beverages Workers Unions) had to resort to the use of 'culture'; wearing their uniforms inside out, to bring their employers' association back to the negotiation table. 'Culture' was therefore involved in the collective bargaining process and employment relations practice in Nigeria. Moreover, according to Ubeku, (1993) and Yesufu (1982) the Nigerian Paternalistic ERP was designed based on the economic and socio- cultural realities of the people same with the British Voluntarist ERP according to Florence (1957). Invariably 'culture' is therefore an important 'actor' in any industrial/employment relations system. This is another academic contribution especially to the discipline of industrial/employment relations.

The analysis of the primary and secondary data clearly demonstrated that there were problems in the practice of the transferred British Voluntarist employment relations system to Nigeria. These problems were caused by the differences in socio-cultural realities between the UK and Nigeria as well as between the various ethnic groups merged together to become Nigeria. It is also obvious that the origins of employment relations practices (and most management practices) are located in the socio-cultural environments. This is to say that an employment relations practice (including most

management practices) that originates from one socio-cultural environment cannot be transferred successfully to a different socio-cultural environment.

Still on the influence of culture on management practices in general, it was observed that the de-merger of Cadbury Schweppes was expected as the American managers were complaining about the British style of management, while the British managers and workers were also not '*too comfortable*' with the American management style. The reason is the differences in culture. The British cannot do without their tea and cigarettes breaks as well as their holidays while the Americans are seen as capitalists to the core. They are said not to have a '*human face*' as everything is seen from the monetary perspective only and being compassionate is not American. If one looks at the effect of religion (which is part of culture) on the employment relations practices of John and George Cadbury and compares this with the employment relations practices of their counterparts during their time; it will be obvious that Quakerism –a Christian religion- was what made the difference. It was their religion that transformed both of them to 'good employers'.

On the other hand, the actions and inactions of Bunmi Oni (the disgraced former CEO/MD of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc could be traced to the impact of religion on his management practices (please see Chapter Eight). Another major academic contribution of this thesis therefore is that religion and religious beliefs play a very important role in employment/relations practice in particular and management practices in general. This could be further reinforced by the fact that the British colonial masters brought trade in one hand and the Bible (the Christian Holy book) in another hand to most of their former colonies including Nigeria. Both the traders and

the missionaries were equally and generously provided military protection and some if not most of the missionaries engaged both in trading and in the preaching of the gospel (please see Chapter Two).

It was established in the study that socio-cultural factors in Nigeria hindered the proper practice of political democracy as introduced and expected to be practised by the colonial masters – the Great Britain- and that this failure brought about the failure of industrial democracy in the workplaces. There is therefore a strong relationship between culture, political democracy (and other management practices) in the larger society and industrial/economic democracy in the various workplaces in the larger society; if one fails there is the likelihood that the other will fail.

This is in line with Bendix's (1971) prediction as well as reinforces Bendix (1971) and Hofstede (1980b) findings. Ibid (1971) predicts that political democracy will be short lived if industrial/economic democracy is not sustained. This prediction came to pass in Nigeria through the various military coups which were manifestations of derailed political democracy. As discussed earlier in the research (Please see Chapter Two), one of the first acts of military dictators in Nigeria was to suspend the constitution and ban or even imprison union leaders. Hofstede (1980b) had to conclude after a rigorous empirical study that the validity of management and management practices theories are constrained by socio-cultural boundaries; this is to say that a management theory developed in one country might not be applicable in another country mainly because of differences in culture. Hofstede (1980b) discovered that the commonly accepted US theories including those by Maslow

(1970), McGregor (1960) and McClelland (1961) might not be applicable outside the USA

Finally, this study established the fact that every society or every group of people no matter how small or 'primitive' must have their own employment relations system (as well as other management practices) and that there is no perfect or better employment relations just as there is no better or perfect or superior culture. To therefore devise a template of employment relations practice (and other management practices) in one cultural area and attempt to transfer it to another cultural area is problematic no matter how 'sophisticated' the employment relations practice (as well as other management practices) might claim to be. In short there should be no thought of devising or designing a template of employment relations practice as well as other management practices with the intention of transferring same from one cultural area to another cultural area; this is another major contribution of the thesis. This discussion chapter and the discussions in Chapter Eight will be based on the above academic contributions.

7.2 Discussions

As already mentioned in 7.1 most literatures on comparative employment relations practices (and probably other management practices) are between the economically developed countries of the World while a very few (if any) literature exists between the economically developed countries of the World and the economically developing/underdeveloped countries of Africa. There is no doubt about the fact that there are abundant natural and human resources in most African countries (Wood and Berge 1997). There is also no doubt about the fact that markets are getting saturated in

the developed countries and their multinational companies must therefore start to look at other markets (Moyer 1968). China and other Asian Tigers (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan) are not alternatives to most African countries because most of the African countries had contacts with some European countries for centuries or even as former colonial territories; only Hong Kong and Singapore of the Asian Tigers had colonial contacts with Britain (Paldam 2003).

Unfortunately most African countries have not been able to attract Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) mainly because of the political instability in most of the countries (Asiedu, 2003). Morisset (2000) suggests that for Africa countries to be able to attract the expected FDI, the countries must among other things put in place trade liberalisation and launch an attractive privatisation programme. China seems to have recognised the importance of Africa in the global economic development as most of her economic attentions through investments are now focussed on the continent.

For example in 2005 China's trade with African countries increased by 39% to £18bn or \$32.17bn (Alden, 2005; BBC News Channel, 06/01/2006). Morisset (2000) concludes that in recent times Nigeria, South Africa, Ivory Coast and Angola because of the availabilities of large domestic markets and natural resources have been able to attract some foreign investors. There is therefore a need for scholars to look at ways in which management practices in African countries could be developed, modernised and be brought to the levels of what are obtained in economically developed countries of the World. While attempting this, differences in culture must be borne in mind.

A very wide gap in the participation of workers in decision making processes between Cadbury Worldwide UK Plc and Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc was noticed during the study. While one can rightly conclude that there were comparatively full participations in decision making processes at the former, what was going on in the latter could only be regarded as involvement in decision making. At best what was happening in the latter was just Hyman & Mason's (1995) involvement in decision making processes or Tower's *et al.* (1987) cosmetic participation. This was because as earlier discussed, all issues of conditions of employment were discussed at Cadbury Worldwide UK Plc and collective bargaining is 'daily' at different levels; if it is not at plant level, it will be at the regional or national level. This situation should not be allowed to continue if the companies and the society are expected to reap the benefits of industrial/economic democracy. This can only be corrected by finding out the best employment relations practice that is compatible with the culture of the people involved.

For example at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc in 2009, collective bargaining is every two years and at industrial level (similar to that of 1980's Cadbury Worldwide UK) while only issues regarding wages and salaries are discussed, while other strategic conditions of employment were left to the prerogatives of the various managements and unions of both the senior staff association and workers to negotiate. Important issues such as loans to buy company's shares, opening hours of canteen, a new ambulance vehicle and qualified medical personnel at night in case of medical emergency at night shifts are left to the prerogatives of management. It was interesting to hear that 'about 80% - 90% of about 1,500 workers (in 2009)' of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc (Head HR Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc.) work on night shifts; yet no

ambulance vehicle drivers were available, same as qualified nurses not to talk of medical doctors, this will not happen at Cadbury (UK) Plc.

The newly introduced political democracy led to military rules in most of the former African British colonies and in some cases like Nigeria, Sierra Leone it led to civil wars (Madaiebo 1980). It was problematic because of the differences in socio-cultural backgrounds. Pre-colonial Nigerians were governed by Obas, Obis and Emirs who had legislative, economic, judicial and executive powers, and they were installed for life and to be succeeded by their sons (as extensively discussed in Chapter Two). Political democracies where the President or Prime Minister will have to be elected periodically were and are still foreign to Nigerians and not in their culture. This and some other ethnic reasons could be held responsible for the constant military coups in the country (this was also extensively discussed in Chapter Two).

Since political democracy was already derailed, industrial/economic democracy cannot be expected to be embraced, or put in another way the practice of pseudo-political democracy in Nigeria can only give birth to the practice of pseudo-industrial/economic democracy in the workplaces; while the practice of real political democracy in the UK gave birth to real industrial/economic democracy in the workplaces. Some of the benefits of industrial democracy were clearly stated earlier in the study (Please see Chapter One) and since real industrial/economic democracy was alien to the management and workers of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc, most of these benefits too will be alien to both management and workers of the company. For example the management of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc failed to allow workers to participate in the decision to transfer the production and marketing of Knorr cubes to

Unilevers (Nigeria) Plc and the former could not benefit from the knowledge and the expertise of the later. (Please see Chapter Eight).

The inputs of the later would have put the company – Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc - in a better position especially as regards their current competition (2009) with the company's closest rival - Food Specialities (Nigeria) Plc, (a subsidiary of Nestle International in Nigeria). Food Specialities (Nigeria) Plc produces Milo chocolate drink which competes with Cadbury's (Nigeria) Plc Bournvita chocolate drink. The former also produces Maggi cubes which were competing with Cadbury's (Nigeria) Plc Knorr cubes. With Knorr cubes out of the way, the coast is now clear for Milo and Maggi cubes to battle it out with Bournvita and there is no way Bournvita could survive a competition from both Maggi cubes and Milo.

Another example of where it would have been beneficial to both parties if workers were allowed to fully participate in decision making processes at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc was the unnecessary crisis that cost all the former senior management staff their jobs and careers and brought a global disgrace to Cadbury Worldwide apart from the huge financial loss. Most of the workers especially those in the sales and marketing department, were aware that the products were not selling and wondered where the products produced and not sold were being dumped because full production still continued. Apart from this, transporters hired to drop the products in the various warehouses hired by the Bunmi Oni - led management were informing the workers where the products were being warehoused. In all of these, Cadbury Worldwide was in the dark.

Workers of the company hiring out the warehouses to Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc were informing their friends and relatives at the company of what the management of their company was doing. The companies contracted by Bunmi Oni - led management to secretly destroy the unsold and expired Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc products at night were also informing their friends and relatives at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. Apart from these various sources and unaware to the management, the friends and relatives of some of the workers working in the various banks that Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc was heavily indebted to were also warning the workers of the company.

While the Bunmi Oni's led management was falsifying records the workers were quite aware that the so-called sales figures as well as the financial statements being sent to Cadbury Birmingham (international head office) were actually figures of destroyed products and that the financial statements were being doctored. Some of the union executives tried to book appointments with the management both formally and informally but the management was '*unavailable*'; the end result was the embarrassment and the huge financial losses to both Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and Cadbury Worldwide.

It was also established in the study that socio-cultural factors played a lot of negative roles in the management of enterprises in Nigeria. The sit-tight syndrome and ethnicity problems witnessed in the Nigerian political scene were also witnessed in the management of enterprises; this will now be demonstrated. Bunmi Oni - the disgraced former Managing Director/Chief Executive Officer – (MD/CEO), was the least qualified Nigerian for this post. He was the Personnel Controller in 1986 when this author was writing the MPil –Masters of Philosophy - dissertation for the

University of Lagos, the topic of which was 'Industrial Relations Systems: A Comparative Study of Cadbury (Nigeria) Limited And Associated Electronics Products (Nigeria) Limited.'

I concluded then based on my frequent interactions with him during the duration of the study that he lacked all the necessary qualities of a good manager; he is timid, not quite intelligent, lacks initiative and a mind of his own and too fanatical in his religious beliefs. For example most of his colleagues both juniors and seniors were forced to pray in the Christian (Deeper Life) way (even if they were not Christians or Christians from another denominations) in the mornings and Bible studies during the lunch breaks. Most Nigerians were surprised when a few years later he was invited to the board as the Sales and Marketing Director after only some months training at Cadbury (India) Ltd. By 1992 he was named the Managing Director/Chief Operating Officer (MD/COO) and by 1995, he was named MD/CEO. It must be stated that the post of COO was the creation of Dr Christopher Kolade - the former CEO. The person behind Bunmi Oni's astronomical promotions was the then MD/CEO, Dr Kolade, a Yoruba man just as Bunmi Oni. Dr. Kolade was from the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), a governmental organisation which is not a profit-making enterprise.

It must be stated that based on merit Dr. Kolade was not qualify for the post of MD of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc as at that time as he lacked the necessary management experience. As soon as Dr Kolade came in, his first task was to consolidate himself by retiring Mr. Ranti Odubogun (now (2008/09) Bishop of the Anglican Communion - Ife Dioceses); he was the Sales and Marketing Director who was replaced by Mr

Bola Ashiru, who was also retired in 1991 and Bunmi Oni was named the Sales and Marketing Director. It should be quickly stated that both men – Mr. Bola Ashiru and Mr Ranti Odubogun - were recruited as management trainees and rose through the ranks to become directors (Cadbury *News*, 1991). They were therefore very experienced and have imbedded the organisational culture of Cadbury Worldwide. Moreover both men have been trained both locally and abroad. They were in essence a treat to Dr. Kolade and his ambition as he was brought in from the public sector – Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).

As it is the Nigerian culture to remain on a post till death; Dr. Kolade just like his good friend the past President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Chief Olusegun Obasanjo who also attempted to change the Nigerian Constitution so as to remain President for another term and probably for life), did not intend to retire from Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc but to stay on till probably his death. As part of his game plan, Bunmi Oni was made the Sales and Marketing Director and later the MD/COO while Dr. Kolade was still the Executive Chairman. It should also be said that prior to this time the two posts were separated. For example when Dr. Kolade was the MD/CEO, Chief Gamaliel Onosode – ‘a renowned Nigerian technocrat, administrator and a leading boardroom player in Nigeria’s corporate environment’ (Falola, 1999: 219) - was the Non- Executive Chairman, the former edged out the latter to become MD and CEO. When Bunmi Oni was made the MD/COO the two posts were again separated to make room for Dr Kolade to still run the company now as the Executive Chairman.

It was not until Dr. Kolade was made the High Commissioner of Nigeria in the UK by his friend, former President Olusegun Obasanjo, that he relinquished the post of

Executive Chairman of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and again ‘his boy’ –Bunmi Oni – merged the two posts of MD and CEO while the position of Executive Chairman was scrapped while the post of Non-Executive chairman was re-created. It could rightly be argued that if Dr Kolade was not named the Nigerian High Commissioner to the United Kingdom and had to move out of Nigeria to the United Kingdom, he would have remained the Executive Chairman of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc probably for life in line with the Nigerian culture.

Bunmi Oni appointed another inexperienced person, Biodun Jaji as the Sales and Marketing Director. He is said to be inexperienced because he was the one charged with the selling of the company’s products and he was quoted to have said that he told the company the quantities of products he could sell, but when the company was producing more than he thought he could sell, why not blow the whistle? Why wait till when the crisis came to limelight before talking? Obviously Bunmi Oni lacked the experience to run such a big blue chip company like Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc, and the end result of the Nigerian boardroom politics rooted in sit-tight syndrome and ethnicity were the embarrassments and unnecessary loss of money caused by the eventual dismissal of Bunmi Oni and his sanction for life by the Nigerian Stock Exchange (NSE) (This Day Newspaper, 17/12/2006; NSE News, 18/07/2006).

Ethnicity also played a major role in the ‘board politics’ because Dr. Kolade is a Yoruba man from the South West of Nigeria same as Bunmi Oni as well as his Sales and Marketing Director Biodun Jaji, same with the Financial Director, Ayo Kadiri. While the then Non-Executive Chairman, Chief Onasode is from the South-South part

of the country. In all the above the spirit of 'Federal Character' was invoked as merit has to give way to state of origin.

Another major socio-cultural factor which contributed to the problems at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc during Bunmi Oni's tenure was religion. Before the advent of Christianity by the former colonial masters, Nigerians worshipped some gods who performed spectacular 'miracles' (Lucas 1948). For example the Yoruba's worshipped Sango, Ogun and Oya apart from other family 'gods' inherited by various families. Sango was regarded as the god of thunder and a renowned warrior who was thought not to have died but disappeared into the earth with a chain that could be pulled during wars and would surface to fight for his people (Salami, 2006).

With the advent of Christianity, which was introduced by the colonial masters, Jesus was likened to those 'gods'. In the Christian Bible, Jesus was quoted in the book of John 14:12 to have said that '*Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do*'. Most churches in Nigeria interpret this to mean an authority given to them by Jesus to carry out spectacular miracles like Jesus and of their own Sango and even *greater* miracles than that of Jesus are expected to be performed (George, 2004).

Bunmi Oni – the Former MD of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc – is a prominent member of the Deeper Life Bible Church which is led by Pastor W.F. Kumuyi; the church is in the forefront of the '*faith*' that Christians can perform '*greater*' miracles than Jesus. Bunmi Oni was probably expecting a 'spectacular miracle' or else how does one justifies the fact that a senior manager in a company like Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc could

continue to produce when the products were not selling and destroying expired products and still continue to loan money at exorbitant interest rates to produce and hire warehouses to store and produce to destroy? It is interesting to know that during all these financial problems Bunmi Oni was still paying dividends to the shareholders; obviously from the bank loans secured at exorbitant interest rates.

This author was reliably informed that all the warehouses were ‘anointed with oil’ – the Nigerian Christian spiritual ritual - based on wrong interpretation of John 5:14-15 (George, 2004). Bunmi Oni was probably assured that a miracle would occur and that the products would be sold at very high prices and very soon too. Unfortunately, this never happened and what started as a publication by one of the ‘*unruly press boys*’ consumed all the senior management staff with various sanctions imposed on them by the Nigerian Stock Exchange and also brought back the expatriates ‘*to run their businesses*’ (a worker at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc).

The lesson from this incident is that multinational companies should always have a very close scrutiny at their subsidiaries especially those in the developing countries as unethical management practices can be discovered before serious damages are inflicted on the reputation of the conglomerates and of course to guide against unnecessary loss of money (Birkinshaw and Hood, 1998). This is more so as the recent study of 15 advanced industrial countries by The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (1994), revealed that multinational subsidiaries are more productive and more efficient than domestic firms both in levels and in rates of efficiency growth. This is mainly because the subsidiaries have the advantage of more exposure to advance technology especially both in products

developments and in management practices from the parent company than the domestic firms (Edwards, 2001).

At the national level, the practice of the newly introduced British Voluntarist employment relations system caused more harm than good as the transfer ignored the different socio-cultural realities of Britain and Nigeria on one hand and the difference in the socio-cultural realities between the various ethnic groups that make up what is now called Nigeria on the other hand. As mentioned earlier in the study, not too long after independence it was discovered that if recruitments, selections, and promotions into the top posts were left strictly to be decided by merit as characterised by the British Voluntarists employment relations system, the more educated Southerners would occupy nearly all the positions and the Northerners would be marginalised, to guide against such a situation the 'Federal Character' was proposed.

This is to simply say that recruitments, selections and promotions should not be totally based on merit but also on state of origin. This translated to bringing in less qualified Northerners solely because of their states of origin to probably be the boss of more qualified Southerners (Nnoli, 1978). The effect of this was that the country was run down economically and ethnicity became more deep-rooted while corruption became the order of the day; a country with abundant mineral, natural and human resources became an improvised and economically underdeveloped country (Mustapha, 1986).

Coupled with the above was the Promulgation of the Nigerian Enterprise Promotions Decree of March 1972 which took effect from 1 March 1974 by the military

Government of General Yakubu Gowon which made among other things the transfer of 40% ownership of public quoted enterprises to Nigerians compulsory (Collins, 1974). The timing of this Decree was not right. This was just less than fifteen years after independence; this brought the management of public enterprises into the hands of incompetent Nigerian managers. These half-baked Nigerian managers could not cope with the challenges of running big enterprises and this led to the failures of the enterprises (Hoogvelt, 1979). Conclusions, recommendations and directions for further researches will be in Chapter Eight.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions, recommendations and direction for further researches

8.0 Introduction

This concluding chapter will be based on the academic contributions enumerated in Chapter Seven; as this thesis attempts to bridge some gaps in the literature. The chapter will principally summarise the effect of participation and non-participation of employees in the decision-making process of their workplaces; it was demonstrated that the issue of participation and non-participation in the management of the countries and in workplaces was principally caused by culture.

This chapter will therefore summarise the importance of socio-cultural factors in the transfer of the British Voluntarist employment relations practice (and other management practices) to Nigeria and (other former British colonies) and how this affects participation and non-participation of employees in decision-making processes. As mentioned in the previous chapters it was obvious that the transferred British Voluntarist employment relations system failed in Nigeria and this brought about the enactment of the 'Federal Character'. It failed partly because of the differences between the British culture and the Nigerian culture as well as between the over 250 ethnic groups that were merged together to become one Nigeria.

These findings are important because they demonstrated the importance of culture and the fact that culture is enduring. This will also help in designing and developing an employment relations practice (as well as other management practices) that is compatible with the Nigerian culture while at the same time enables the country to face the challenges of today's industrialisation and globalisation. As for the over 250

ethnic groups that were forced to merge and be called Nigeria, this finding is important in that the States should now be divided along ethnic lines and each should be made to develop at its own speed and then a loose centre can be created. This view was recently supported by the former military dictator, General Ibrahim Babangida (The Nigerian Guardian Newspaper, Thursday, September, 24, 2009).

There will therefore be no need for the constitutional provisions of 'Federal Character'. Since each state consists of people from the same ethnic background they will be made to develop at their own speed and have total claim to the natural resources in their various domains. There will be a healthy rivalry between the states, and the country will be better for it. Fortunately nearly each state/region is endowed with at least one natural resource or another. For example the South West is endowed with cocoa beans while the North is endowed with ground nuts and other agricultural products like tomatoes, yams, and potatoes. The Niger Delta is endowed with crude oil and natural Gas while the South East is endowed with palm oil. This chapter will address the conclusions and recommendations as well as point to areas for further research based on the above. This chapter concludes with the discussions of the limitations of the research.

8.1 Conclusions and recommendations

There are enough evidences especially from the secondary sources of this research to conclude that the British colonialists introduced wage employment which facilitated the introduction and the transfer of the British Voluntarists employment relations system which eventually replaced the pre-colonial Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system. This process can be said to have commenced as soon as the first

British man sets his feet on the soil of the vast area around the River Niger which eventually came to be referred to as Nigeria (Park, 1799). The Scotsman, Mungo Park demonstrated his gratitude to his guards and aides by paying them wages and this triggered off the introduction of wage employment which invariably led to the introduction of the British type of employment relations practice which eventually replaced the Nigerian paternalistic employment relations practice. (Please see Chapter Two)

The granting of the Royal Charter to the Royal Niger Company (RNC), the first real multinational company in Nigeria on 4 March 1886 (Pearson, 1971) signified the formal entrenchment of the British Voluntarist employment relations system. This was because with the Charter bearing the Royal Seal, the company became the representative of His/Her Majesty and was even granted the Royal authority to raise its own army, and its own flag; the company was all in all (Ukpabi, 1987). This was because not only did the company possessed economic power; it was also armed with legislative, executive, and judicial powers (Cook, 1943).

This was the beginning of the end of the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations practice as the transfer of the British Voluntarists employment relations practice commenced formally (Dike, 1959; Ukpabi 1987). Unfortunately, this was not in conformity with the socio-cultural, political and economic realities of the country. This was because the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system was best suited for the socio-cultural, political and economic realities of Nigerians, just as Nigeria and Nigerians are best suited for the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system (Ubeku, 1993; Yesufu, 1982). There was therefore no way the British

Voluntarist employment relations system fashioned after the socio-cultural, political and economic realities of the British could have benefited Nigeria and Nigerians (Florence, 1957).

This still manifests even today after independent from the British. The features or characteristics of the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system are still reverted to by both Nigerian workers and managers. This is because Nigerian managers often knowingly or unknowingly evoke the features and characteristics of the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system especially when it comes to recruitments, selections, and promotions (Ubeku, 1984). This is inline with the findings of Sparrow and Hilltrop (1994) when they suggested that our national culture is so deeply embedded in us that it cannot easily be discarded by any external force. This was also supported by the studies of Hofstede (1980, 2001) and Trompenaars and Turner (1997) as they all perceived culture and cultural values as enduring and deep-rooted and in most cases brought into organisational/management practices. The failures and the inadequacies in the British Voluntarist ERP led to the introduction of 'Federal Character' (Ekeh, 1989).

The idea behind the 'Federal Character' was good on paper - the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria - but in practice it failed to stabilise the newly introduced British Voluntarist employment relations system as envisaged (Nnoli, 1978). This was because its -'Federal Character'- practice and principles negated the workings and principles of the British Voluntarists employment relations system which was hinged on the fact that recruitments, selections and promotions must be based on merit (Ekeh, 1989). This unfortunately negates one of the core principles of 'Federal Character'

which clearly stated that recruitments, selections and promotions should be based state of origin and not necessarily on merit (Ekeh and Osaghae, 1989). The federal character of the country translates to a country with many ethnic groups but with one character (Kirk-Greene, 1983). If the British Voluntarist employment relations system's principles were to be strictly adhered to, many States in Nigeria would not be represented in the running of the country and thereby be marginalised (Nnoli, 1978). On the other hand, since its implementation most of the more qualified people from the Southern part of Nigeria have to take up jobs as juniors colleagues of their less educated and less qualified people from the Northern part of the country (Ekeh and Eghosa, 1989).

This situation was not only in the civil service but also indirectly existed in most private and multinational companies, especially those sponsored by the Federal Government and its agencies (Ekeh and Osaghae, 1989). Unfortunately there are very few companies that do not fall under this category. Some of the shortcomings of this Constitutional provision are that: it sacrifices meritocracy for mediocrity, it brought about unnecessary industrial tensions – a more qualified personnel will be reluctant to take orders from a less qualified and less experienced boss, it makes no economic sense as it affected productivity and job satisfaction, it indirectly halts the economic and educational development of some states to allow other states to catch up, and it is not a fair approach to political, social and economic developments (Afigbo, 1989; Ekeh, 1989).

Still on the prominence of the ethnic and tribal sentiments, Nigeria lost the services of a prominent political leader in the person of late Chief Obafemi Awolowo simply

because he happened to come from the south western part of the country (Omotoso, 1988). He was the Premier of the former Western Region of Nigeria between 1954 and 1959 when the Region introduced free primary education (Oyelaran, 1988). His government established the first radio and television stations in Africa as well as the Liberty sports stadium; also the first of its kind in Africa and turned the Region into the most economically developed as well as the most prosperous in the whole country if not in the whole of West Africa (Ola, 1970). When he was the Federal Commissioner (Minister) of Finance during the Nigeria civil war between 1967 and 1971 he made sure that the country's finances were well kept and it was his advice that ended the civil war; he was a tested politician, leader of men and an economic genius (Sklar, 2004). With these achievements one would have expected the country to vote him in as the President when he contested for the position in 1979; but his undoing was his state of origin, Ogun State in the South West of Nigeria (Dudley, 1981; Ojo, 1981; Koehn, 1981).

He was one of the Presidential candidates in the 1979 general elections on the platform of Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) and lost to Alahaji Shehu Shagari who contested on the platform of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) partly because he was a Yoruba man from the south western part of Nigeria and the opponent is a Hausa-Fulani man from the Northern part of the country (Dudley, 1981). The economy of the country under Alhaji Shehu Shagari was so badly managed that the military struck again in 1984 and did not hand over to a civilian government until 1999 (Sklar, 2004; Osoba, 1996). Achebe (1984:1) concludes that '----. The problem with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership'.

The situation has not improved even up till today. The present (2009) President is rumoured to have a terminal disease (and later died) and goes out of the country frequently for medical attention; the last one was to Saudi Arabia some times in November 2009 (Nigerian Guardian Newspaper 29/11/09). He was away for over five months (as at 10/04/10) and did not hand over to the Vice – President who is from the South–South. Recently, when he was expected at the United Nation General Assembly and his health could not allow him to attend, one would have expected the Vice-President to represent him and the country, but for the same reason the Minister for External Affairs stood in for him; the External Affairs Minister from the South East was informed that the President would not be going to New York just at the last minute (The Guardian Newspaper, 10th December, 2009). The Vice President, Goodluck Jonathan was not sworn in as the Acting President for all the time Yar Ardua was in the hospital just because the former is from the south-south; but was eventually sworn in on 5 May 2010 after the death of the his former boss (The Nigerian Guardian Newspaper, 6th May , 2010)

Another major fallout of the ‘Federal Character’ which came about as a result of the failure of the British Voluntarist ERP is the issue of ignoring the principle of Resource Control. As some essential natural resources like crude oil and natural gas are found in some States and not in others, the benefits of location of the resources are not optimally enjoyed by the States of location (Ikelegbe, 2006). The case in point is the location of the Kaduna Petroleum Refinery Industry in Kaduna in the Northern part of the country; while crude oil – the main raw material - is located in the Niger Delta, in the South – South of Nigeria. Secondly, the Petroleum University was shifted from the Delta State to Kaduna State; the state of origin of the Minister for

Petroleum, Alhaji Rilwanu Lukman, a northerner (Watts, 2004; Nigerian Guardian Newspaper, 10/07/09).

While most of the inhabitants of the Northern States enjoy availability of petroleum products all year round, inhabitants of the Niger Delta States (where crude oil is found) have to endure oil spillages, gas burning, and the takeover of their sources of livelihood - farming and fishing- by the multinational oil companies (Nigerian Guardian Newspaper, 27/07/08). The former Western Region under the Premiership of Chief Obafemi Awolowo (comprising of today's Ogun, Oyo, Ondo, Bendel, Oshun and Ekiti States) is well ahead of most Regions/States of the Federation because the Region was able to control all the proceeds from the sales of cocoa beans from the Region in the 1950's/1960's (Coleman, 1971). The Region initiated the Free Universal Primary Education in 1955, built the first Television Station in Africa (Western Nigeria Radio and Television Corporation) and the first modern sport stadium in Africa (the Liberty Stadium), all from the revenue derived from the exportation of cocoa beans in the 1960's (Lewis, 1961).

Still on the 'Federal Character', in 1974, General Yakubu Gowon – the then military Head of State - announced in Kano that Free Universal Primary Education would commence all over Nigeria in 1976 (Urwick, 1983). It took off in 1976 but subsequent administrations could not continue and even the civilian administration of 1979-1983 only made a verbal commitment (Bray, 1981). The situation was so bad that by May 1967 only the Western and Lagos States (both in the southern part of Nigeria) had introduced free primary education (Chuta, 1986). To now expect the college and university graduates of Western and Lagos States' origin to wait until the people from

the Northern States are ready is not fair at all just as it is not fair to deny the Niger Delta States from enjoying benefits of their crude oil and natural gas (Watts, 2004).

This is why up till today loyalty is still first to ones own state of origin and not to the country, Nigeria (Jinadu, 1985). This and some other reasons could be said to be accountable for the Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970 (Stremlau, 1977). Up till today the wounds have not healed as the Ibos who tried to break away are still not trusted and they too are not really interested in the concept of 'One Nigeria' (Mabiebo, 1980). The fact that they are not trusted could be responsible for their not being considered for the two topmost posts, President and Vice-President (in the 2003 elections) in the country through the 'zoning' arrangement - 'zoning' is the political language for 'Federal Character' and this is strictly adhere to by all political parties (Akinola, 1988) .

Another major area of confusion caused by the introduction of the British Voluntarist employment relations system is in the area of collective bargaining. This is very central to the workings and practice of the employment relations system (Kessler and Bayliss, 1995; Edwards, 2003). As was discussed earlier socio-cultural, political and economic realities in the country hindered the proper and smooth workings of collective bargaining as it did in the United Kingdom (Yesufu, 1984). Moreover, the level of education of the workers also made it difficult for the workers' union to be able to effectively negotiate with the more educated, more experienced and more equipped employers' association – Nigeria Employer's Consultative association (NECA) - (Fashoyin, 1987).

On the national political scene, Britain, the country of origin of the Voluntarist employment relations practice has witnessed centuries of political democracy which gave birth to industrial/economic democracy in the workplaces (Parry *et al* 1992). The perfect workings and practice of industrial/economic democracy depend on the perfect workings and practice of political democracy as was clearly and exhaustively discussed earlier in the research (Blumberg, 1968). This is because if the larger society to which all the workers and management belong has embedded the practice of political democracy, it becomes like a sub-cultural issue which will naturally be brought into the workplaces (Hewitt, 1977). Obviously the reverse will be the case if political democracy was not effectively practised in the larger society, as is the situation in Nigeria.

On the contrary, Nigeria only became independent on the 1 October 1960 but was under the military rule for over thirty years (Achike, 1978). During this period, the military was able to militarise the whole sub-systems including the employment relations sub-system; some experienced Nigerian labour union leaders like Michael Immodu and Alhaji W. Goodluck were banned for life by the military dictators (Yesufu, 1982). One then wonders how the British Voluntarists employment relations system could work effectively in Nigeria under such militarisation of all the labour related institutions including the trade union institution.

As was deliberated upon in Chapter Two, the War over Palm Oil in the Niger Delta area between the natives and the multinational company, the Royal Niger Company- some two centuries ago, is being replicated today in the same area, with the same weapon- holding foreign oil workers as hostages and ransom demanded (Martin,

1988). Today it could be tagged The War over Crude Oil. In the colonial era, the ransom was about £200 and some hot drinks: today the ransom is between £10 million and £20 million per hostage (Ikelegbe, 2006). Unlike during the colonial days when the militants were not educated and used crude arms and ammunitions, today's militants are mostly unemployed university graduates of Niger Delta origin and well-armed beyond the control of the Nigerian police and the Nigerian Army had to be called in and the later too found the Niger Delta militants a very hard nut to crack (Ikelegbe, 2005).

At a stage, the United Nations Organisation (UNO) and the President of USA appealed to the Federal Government of Nigeria to be allowed to intervene because most of the expatriate oil workers being kidnapped by the militants are from the multinational companies from USA, Great Britain, Netherlands, etc (Nigerian Guardian Newspaper, 20/05/09). The Federal Government of Nigeria was and still is losing a lot of revenue due to the inability of the country to export enough crude oil, the main foreign exchange-earner for the country (Omeje, 2006). The situation became an international embarrassment to the Federal Government of Nigeria and another civil war was being envisaged (Nigerian Guardian newspaper, 20/05/09).

The reason for the reliance on ethnic and tribal sentiments was discussed extensively earlier in the study but in addition Yesufu (1982:56) is of the opinion that '---- as a nation, Nigeria was very much an artificial creation: the handiwork of nineteenth and twentieth century imperialism'. The citizens are from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds so bad that that there are over five hundred and twenty-one languages spoken by the people that constituted the geographical area the colonial masters

named Nigeria; comprising of four hundred and ten living languages, two second languages, and nine extinct languages (Popoola, 2007:1). The major languages are Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, Efik, Ibibio and Annang (Blench, 1999; 2002; Crozier *et al.*, 1992). The country should make use of the positive aspects of the situation rather than resulting to tribal/ethnic sentiments when the need is for professionalism and competency; there could be unity in the diversity of the country and good use made of the huge population as the Chinese and the Indians have done and are still doing (Berry, 1961).

This is not to advocate for the importation of the British Voluntarists employment relations system wholesomely into Nigeria because the system was built on the British socio-cultural, political and economic realities which are alien to Nigeria and Nigerians. The areas in the British Voluntarists employment relations system that will help Nigeria to join the elite club of industrialised nations by 2020 should be strictly adhered to especially as Great Britain happens to be the first country to be industrialised in the world and presently a strong member of the G8 and G20 (Soludo, 2007). This opportunity and the relationship as the former colonial master should not be wasted, more so as Nigeria is endowed with both natural and human resources that are catalysts to any country's economic development.

As was discussed earlier there is an urgent need to develop the trade union -Dunlop's (1958; 1993) second 'actor' in the IRS. The present set up is only useful for the fight for independence and not ideal for industrialisation which is the springboard to economic development which should be the aspiration of the country (Yesufu, 1982). A situation where the management/employers - Dunlop's (1959; 1993) first 'actor' in

IRS through the Employers' Association - is well developed and equipped and the union is still not developed is not acceptable at all. The point at stake is that the union executives in the various plants should be able to go straight to the collective bargaining table with their respective managements regularly and on all issues rather than expecting a collective bargaining on strategic issues to be handled by the industrial union and every two years. It is not surprising that workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc in 2008 counted themselves '*lucky*' as some '*industries in Nigeria meet for collective bargaining every five years*' (Head, HR Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc).

When confronted with the fact that their counterparts at Cadbury (UK) Plc go in for collective bargaining '*every day and on ALL issues*', they were amazed but consoled themselves with the fact that United Kingdom should not be compared with Nigeria just as the workers of the two countries should not be compared even if they work for the same multinational company, Cadbury Worldwide. To this writer, this should not be and workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc deep down in their minds would have preferred the type of collective bargaining at Cadbury Worldwide UK, but as they have no choice in the matter they have to appreciate what is offered them. The main reason why collective bargaining on strategic issues were left for the industrial union was because there was the fear that the plant union executives will not be able to bargain with their respective managements because of their level of education. The present situation whereby the Employers' Association (NECA) employs highly experienced and tested people to negotiate with less experienced workers' union is not acceptable.

There is therefore an urgent need for management to help in educating the union executives. This can be done by sending them for various courses especially those relating to collective bargaining; both parties will definitely benefit. This is done at Cadbury Worldwide UK; where the Chairman of the in-plant union is granted sabbatical leave with full pay throughout his/her tenure in office and the management pay for courses. One is not talking of something that is not practicable since it is done at CadburyWorldwide UK, it should also be done at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc - after all, they both belong to the same Cadbury Worldwide Group. If the practice is yielding good results in one plant it should yield the same good results in another plant.

It should be seen as part of a company's culture rather than a country or society-based issue. For example, during the cause of this research, the union at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc were on some sort of warning strike by wearing their uniforms inside-out. The management was not comfortable because the company was just coming out of some serious financial crisis while Food Specialities Nigeria Plc; (Nigeria's subsidiary of Nestle) – their major competitor- could drag their feet as they are comfortable financially; unfutunately both firms were affected as their workers belong to the same industrial union.

There was nothing stopping the latter to tactically delay industrial negotiation - after all, they are competitors. Cadbury's (Nigeria) Plc workers' union cannot unilaterally call off the warning strike even if their management wanted something done quickly. The idea of waiting for the industrial union is definitely not in the best interest of both management and workers. Companies in the same industry might be faced with similar challenges yet there are some problems peculiar to some companies and not to

others and the problems could need a quick solution (Palmer & Hartley (2002). The best way to go about this is to result to plant-based collective bargaining. The problems at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc demonstrated the need for effective trade unions; this was because workers who have not been participating in union activities quickly changed their former cultural attitude of '*one does not fight one that is providing one food.*' This was because it was obvious that their faith lies in the union at this crucial stage of the company's history. The usefulness of trade unionism suddenly dawned on the workers when their jobs were at stake.

The State, as the Dunlop's (1958; 1993) third 'actor' in IRS should also come in to help the Dunlop's (1958; 19993) second 'actor' in IRS in terms of helping to equip the latter, this is because leaving the latter to deal with the Dunlop's (1993) first actor would rather be unfair. The State too could help in funding the education of the union executives bearing in mind that if they are well equipped the country as a whole will benefit from the industrial peace that will come up when there is a real and genuine collective bargaining through increased productivity and increased economic development of the country on the long run.

The Nigerian national labour policy has as its main objectives just as in any other country, the promotion of industrial/economic democracy (Fashoyin, 1980). This can only be achieved if collective bargaining is done by equal partners not when a party is handicapped because of low level of education and the other is very sound on the issues involved in negotiation. One is not advocating for trade union executives to posses educational qualifications like PhD's but that they must be sound and current, especially as regards collective bargaining and in the running of trade union

organisations. In the meantime, the union could make do with the services of employment relations consultants especially the retired ones, at least to be a match to those employed by the Employers' Association (NECA). One of the retired directors of Nigerian Employers' Consultative Association (NECA) interviewed in the course of this research was ready to be hired by the union if consulted and he promised to charge a '*reasonable fee*'.

The State through its appropriate agencies should while supervising the plants make sure that those in charge of employment relations are really qualified and professional people. A situation whereby a medical director '*due for retirement soon*' was posted to take care of employment relations issues because he has been '*a good man to the company*' as presently (2008/9) done at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc should be discouraged. This writer was amazed when the gentleman confidently said he knew nothing about employment relations or the meaning of collective bargaining but that '*he is coping.*' It was obvious that he could not cope just that workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc were presently handicapped as they do not want to lose their jobs just as the Bunmi Oni - led management lost theirs.

Let us turn the situation around: let us imagine for a moment that the medical director at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc '*abruptly resigned*' – just as the Personnel Manager did -, a Personnel Manager will never be asked to fill the gap and act as the medical director even for a day, simply because he is not a trained medical doctor registered with the Nigerian Medical Association (NMA). Why then should a medical doctor without any training in employment/industrial relations be asked to stand in for the Personnel Manager of a blue chip company like the Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc?

Industrial/economic democracy at the plant levels should be adequately and thoroughly monitored by the State through its agencies and where there is a problem the management of erring companies should be dealt with accordingly. Some of the workers' interviewed at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc have spent over twenty years yet are not happy doing their jobs any more; they were just staying because of the pay and their pensions. On investigations through the various interviews conducted in the course of the research, the main reason for their unhappiness was the fact that they were being alienated by the management of the company. Some of them worked in the 'Knorr cubes' section of the company were surprised that the company '*handed over*' the product to another company -Unilever- without consulting them and without making provision for an alternative product.

These workers were specifically and specially trained both at home and abroad for this product and the product was doing so well that it was used as a '*conditional sale*' even for Bournvita during the 1980s and early 1990s. 'Conditional sale' is to make it mandatory for the customers interested in Knorr cubes to buy Bournvita and other products of the company that seem not to be moving or selling fast. This is to demonstrate that Knorr-cube was once the flagship of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. If the workers had been consulted they would have advised the company that if for legal reasons the company must *hand over* the product to Unilever, they –the workers- could *bring out* another product similar to 'Knorr cubes'.

This could be done by working on the defects identified in 'Knorr cubes' by the consumers which for franchising reasons the company, Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc could

not correct and the new product would be far better than the former, for example customers complained that Cadbury's Knorr was not as salty as Nigerian who have preferred. Moreover, the workers were ready to guarantee management that if the 'new Knorr cube' could not sell they should be dismissed and not paid their entitlements. That was how confident they were about their knowledge of the product. Such dedicated and passionate workers deserve to be consulted by management. As they were not consulted by management before handing over the product, some felt betrayed. To some, 'it was like losing a son', (Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc worker) and to some this was the end of their career at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. An indigenous company –Doyin Investment - that could have employed them cannot pay their asking salaries especially those that have spent ten years or more. Those who have spent only five years or less have since left for Doyin Investment and are producing 'Doyin cube' from their experience with Cadbury's 'Know cubes', the former is now competing effectively with Knorr cubes, now manufactured by Unilevers (Nigeria) Plc.

The senior workers are presently waiting patiently so to say to clock twenty-five years or thirty years as the case may be so as to be entitled to the 'huge pensions'; definitely they are far from being happy on the job anymore. This is apart from the loss of money spent on these workers by both Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc and Cadbury Worldwide to train them both at home and abroad. The point is that if there was a real and genuine industrial/economic democracy at work in Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc as it is at Cadbury Worldwide UK, strategic issues like the handing over of a core product would have been brought to the discussion table and the workers would have had an

opportunity to air their views and make suggestions as to what should be done next and everybody – management and workers - would have ended up being happy.

If according to Yesufu (1982) the main essence of studying and practising industrial or employment relations is to comprehend the nature of the complex human element in the productive processes; the management of Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc got it wrong. This was because they have failed to take into consideration Yesufu's (1982) nature of the intricate human element in the productive processes. This was because another reason that could be responsible for the unhappiness of the former workers of 'Knorr cube' is the fact that their pride and ego have been tampered with. Formerly, these workers were respected by their colleagues because they were working on the core brand of the company. Now that they have been transferred to '*other brands*' including the less prestigious '*sweets*' section, the respects are gone; yet no one in the management team ever thought about the effect of this on the workers' productivity. This was because nobody in the management team was aware of the intricate human element in the productive processes as suggested by Yesufu (1982).

Still on the role of the State through its agencies as Dunlop's (1959; 1993) third 'actor' in IRS, a lot can be done as regards the trade union structure. Inasmuch as one is quite aware of the fact that there is no such thing as the best trade union structure; as the industrial union has its own advantages, it also has its own disadvantage. And the same with the craft union structure; it has its own advantages as well as disadvantages (Hoxie, 1914). The same with general or even a company union but one would have been comfortable to recommend the Cadbury's Worldwide UK plant workers' union structure. The workers belong to a general union –UNITE - but the

plant union negotiates with the management directly and on '*ALL ISSUES*' (Unite union leader). Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc is part of Cadbury Worldwide; one would have expected that this would have had some influence on the former. The union structure in use in the 1980's at Cadbury Worldwide UK is what is still in use at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc in 2008/2009.

In fairness to one of the expatriate director interviewed at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc, he confirmed that they would have preferred the plant union style but they cannot change what they *met on ground - the industrial union type of collective bargaining*-. The only body that could help in this regard is the State through its agencies. If they take a look at the advantages of the plant union structure and weigh the advantages and disadvantages they could come up with something better than the present industrial union structure. The plants that make up the industry could be facing similar problems yet there are some problems that are peculiar to particular firms, in this case, the plant type of trade union structure will come in handy.

There is a need to locate industries near sources of raw materials as much as possible. This will help workers who do not want to move to cities like Lagos for cultural reasons to stay in their villages and still be engaged in wage employment; this will also open up these villages and small towns as well as release Lagos and other Nigerian cities from a lot of pressures (Harris and Todaro, 1970; Byerlee, 1974). The argument that Lagos and some other industrial cities in Nigeria have the necessary social infrastructures like electricity and pipe borne water no more stands (Okunlola, 1996). This is because as at now all the companies generate their electricity as well as provide the water they need as there are no more adequate supplies of these

infrastructures. This is coupled with the high rent paid for lands and houses in Lagos and other Nigerian industrial cities. These will cost next to nothing in the villages and small towns as there is abundant land and cheap houses could be built for workers or workers can be coming from their various family houses.

Agriculture dominates the domestic economy of Nigeria as it accounts for nearly 40% of the Gross Domestic Product and two-thirds of the labour force is directly or indirectly engaged in agriculture (Oluwasanmi, 1966). It also produces food and raw materials as well as generates household income directly or indirectly for a majority of the people (Akande, 2002). Agriculture which presently contributes less than 5% of the country's foreign earnings can be mechanised and could in future compete or even complement earnings from crude oil which presently accounts for 95% of Nigeria's foreign earnings (Yesufu, 1982; Eicher and Liedholm, 1970). For example the country presently spends over US\$300 million annually on the importation of rice alone and imports over 1 million metric tons of the product annually; there is no doubt about the fact that the rate of increase in demand for rice in Nigeria is the fastest in the whole of West Africa (Akande, 2002). Government could divert such resources into cultivation of rice while rice and rice related industries could be located near the sources of raw materials and this makes economic sense.

Ethnicity, tribal sentiments and thinking still dominate the Nigerian employment relations system which pushed merit off the scale especially as regards recruitments, selections, trainings and promotion (Ubeku, 1984). This is bad both for workers and management as the right person with the right qualification and experience has been denied the opportunity of contributing to the growth of the enterprise. Palmer &

Hartley (2002) quote the example of UK's Sainsbury's supermarket falling as the leading UK grocery retailer in the mid-1990s from its number one position simply because the Sainsbury family which controls majority shares in the company was very reluctant to delegate responsibilities to managers who are not family members. Till today -2009- , Sainsbury is still finding it difficult to regain the number one position.

Most successful dynasties like Cadbury, Guinness, and Dunlop brought in the right professionals outside the family members especially now that competitions are very intense and professionalism is the order of the day (Palmer & Hartley, 2002). Most former Nigerian-owned companies die with their founders (Stewart, 2003). The case in point is that of Chief MKO Abiola who owned the Concord Group, a chain of companies involved in the aviation, publishing, petroleum and bakery industries, after the death of the owner-Chief MKO Abiola, nearly all the companies were liquidated (Ihonvbere,1996). This must have been a lesson for the Aliko Dangote group of companies owned by Alhaji Aliko Dangote who is a northerner yet the company recruits anyone who is qualified to do the job including the Lebanese (Sulaiman, 2009). Management of businesses today have gone beyond ethnic or tribal considerations; the emphasis now is on professionalism and competency (Palmer & Hartley, 2002).

Since Nigeria now operates the Presidential system of government as it is practised in the USA, true Federalism too must be practised as is it is done in the USA (Suberu, 1993). The different States comprising Nigeria should be granted autonomy (Nwabueze, 1983). For example, it is unheard of in the USA for a President to ask the Governor of a State to take permission from him before the latter set out of his/her

domain. In Nigeria, the President gives orders to the State Governors like a village headmaster does to his pupils, and failure to abide by the headmaster's orders will mean losing the monthly subventions or even withdrawing the security aides attached to the stubborn Governor. The different states in the USA have their own Senate, Police and Supreme courts as well as make laws for their respective states and no state has to wait for orders from Washington D. C. (Shugart and Haggard, 2001). Afigbo (1991) is of the opinion that Federalism was clamped on Nigeria because they –the British- recognised the disruptive, primitive features of indigenous Nigerian society. Unfortunately after independence, federalism was practised in the real form for only a short time before it was derailed by socio-cultural and political realities (Nwabueze, 1983).

The 'test' of Hofstede (1980, 2001) 'cultural dimension' revealed among other things 'fear' of the managers by the Nigerian workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc; they (the managers) are addressed as 'Sir' and when they are in the presence of the managers their hands must be at their backs and not maintain any form of eye contact. While workers at Cadbury Worldwide UK only 'respect' the managers and they are addressed by their first names. The implication of this was that the managers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc see themselves as 'lords' and untouchable while the workers are 'servants' that have not much to offer. This was why the sacked Bunmi Oni's board *refused to discuss the situation of the company with the union*. The workers' union at Cadbury Worldwide UK are always informed about whatever is happening in the workplace and *all issues* are brought to the negotiation table. This situation must change as we are no more in the colonial era; Nigerian workers must see the managers as colleagues and human beings who are prone to mistakes.

Nigerian workers at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc resorted to their Pastor's and Imam's when there was crisis in the company rather than take practical steps in addressing the crisis; while worker's at Cadbury Worldwide took practical steps including getting the Prime Minister to be involved. The situation in Nigeria should change and Nigerian workers should not cross the line to becoming religious fanatics; one imagines how they coped with fastings and night vigils yet they had to operate machines in the day. It was religious fanaticism that made Bunmi Oni to be borrowing money at a very exorbitant interest rate when the products were not selling. In conclusion women managers should be appreciated by Nigerian workers and as mentioned severally in this thesis Nigerian workers should embrace trade unionism as this is the only avenue through which their grievances could be effectively addressed.

In conclusion, the present democratic dispensation must be allowed to thrive at all costs because apart from the fact that military rule is at present globally out of fashion; they are usually a setback to the economic development of the country at least in Nigeria (Diamond, 1992). This is because the military boys (as they always want to be called) are trained to fight wars and not to manage the country. The over thirty years of military rule in Nigeria was a waste; moreover the developed countries have made up their minds not to recognise any military rule especially from Africa, and these are the countries we can and must do business with (Joseph, 1997). Directions for further researches will be discussed below.

8.2 Directions for further researches

As mentioned in Chapter Seven, there is a need to carry out a lot of comparative employment/industrial relations practices researches between African countries and other economically developed countries of the world. The continent is endowed with a lot of minerals, natural and human resources but there are management problems. To bridge the gap between the rich nations and the poor nations of the world, there is a need to shift attention to Africa and the first step is for similar studies like this one to be carried out and a proper management practice in conformity with the culture identified and recommended.

The British Voluntarists employment relations system has come to stay in Nigeria yet the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system is refusing to die; researches should be conducted with a view to harmonising the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system with the British Voluntarists employment relations system. This is because it is obvious that the Nigerian Paternalistic employment relations system cannot stand the demands of the present day global economic realities, the level of industrialisation and technological development; and that said the socio-cultural realities of Nigeria and Nigerians will still make the pre-colonial Paternalistic employment relations system very relevant no matter the modernisation or stage of economic development.

The researchers in the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) discipline should carry out researches on the reasons for both War Over Palm Oil and War Over Crude Oil as both wars was and still is in the same region. This is with the hope of coming out with what the multinational oil companies could do to avert the unnecessary loss of lives,

time and scarce resources. Their counterparts in Political Science should come up with the best home-grown type of democracy that will incorporate the socio-cultural, political and economic realities on ground. Nigeria tried the British Parliamentary System of government immediately after independence in 1960; it failed and its failure led to the first military coup in 1966. The failure made the country to embark on the trial of the Presidential System of government in 1979; this also seems not to be working effectively because of socio-cultural, political and economic factors. As democracy is now the order of the day globally, there is a need to fashion out one that will take into consideration the socio-cultural, political and economic realities of Nigeria and Nigerians.

There is also a need for researches into what the role of military in the political terrain of the country should be. Elaigwu (1991) recommends the Latin American model where a very senior military officer is appointed as the Minister of Defence. He (1991) also suggests that Nigeria should think about the Indonesian model where the Parliament comprises of elected military officers who are elected strictly by their constituencies, the armed forces. This is to make the military to be committed to the civilian regimes and probably this might stop the frequent military coups in Nigeria; this suggestion needs to be well researched before implementation.

Nigeria is said to be the most sufficiently endowed territory carved out by the European colonisers, although the living standards of most of its citizens differed from that of the other 80% of Africa's black population (Joseph, 1978). Nigeria has a population of about 140 million people (see Nigeria's population), a lot of minerals and natural resources among which are crude oil and natural gas. Nigeria has 22

trillion cubic feet of natural gas and about 22 billion of crude oil reserves. (See crude oil and natural gas in Nigeria). Despite the above statistics, the GDP is just about \$191.4 billion (2006est - see GDP in Nigeria). Nigeria was ranked 157 out of 177 nations in the HDI ranking of countries' capacities in 2006. This was recently reported in the Human Development Report (HDR). The Human Development Index (HDI) is compiled annually by the UNDP and HDR represents the estimate of the country development capacity (Orabuchi, 2006). From the above statistics, Nigeria and Nigerians have no business with poverty. The major twin problems are corruption and bad management.

Researches should be conducted by sociologists and economists as to how best to tame the twin beasts. The researchers should also come out with how to make governance less expensive and less attractive so that the politicians and the civil servants will not see their positions as one that should be used to amass wealth; rather it should be seen as an opportunity to serve. Researches should also be carried out by the social-scientists on how to make more people participate actively in the electoral processes and have the courage to vote out corrupt politicians rather than allowing them to acquire or better still 'buy' chieftaincy titles and be granted prominent positions in their various communities. The politicians are becoming too complaisant as they are too confident that they cannot be voted out no matter how badly they have performed; once they have the money to buy votes they will always be re-elected (Vaughan, 1991).

According to Wilks, (1962:337), the Portugese were the first explorers and the first Europeans to begin trade in West Africa and especially in Nigeria around 1471 and

1475 yet little was later heard of them. There is a need for further researches to be conducted as to how and why the British and the French later dominated trade in West Africa and probably the fortunes of West Africans in general and Nigerians in particular would have been better under the Portuguese.

Lastly, researchers should come up with recommendations as to what should be the relationships of the individual subsidiaries with their various parent companies and recommend how these relationships should evolve. It is obvious from what happened at Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc that Cadbury Worldwide granted too much independent and too soon to its Nigeria subsidiary – Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc. The situation in one subsidiary might not be the same in other subsidiaries bearing in mind the differences in socio-cultural terrains. A general and blanket recommendation for all the subsidiaries is not acceptable just as one will not advocate for an early autonomy from the parent company.

Edwards (2001) is of the opinion that multinational enterprises (MNEs) present a range of economic benefits to the countries where they locate subsidiaries. One of the economic benefits should be the training of the indigenous managers in the arts of contemporary management practices based on the fact that the parent companies are located in the economically developed environments with access to the latest theoretical and practical techniques of scientific management of complex organisations. Cadbury (Nigeria) Plc should therefore benefit from the parent company – Cadbury Worldwide. The limitations of the research will be discussed below.

8.3 Limitations of the research

This research was hampered by the twin problems of lack of enough financial resources and time. The author would have loved to find out why political democracy, industrial/economic democracy and the British Voluntarist employment relations system succeeded in some former British colonies like Canada, India, Australia and New Zealand and failed mostly in the African former colonies like Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and Somalia. From the look of things it seems that the failures were recorded in most black former British colonies and succeeded in most white former British colonies. There must have been some interesting reasons for this distinct line of successes and failures drawn along colours – black and white- and race. With more financial resources and the availability of more time, the case study would have included at least three countries from the black former British colonies and three countries from the white former British colonies and the result would have been very interesting.

It would also have been interesting to look into the fact that in the 15th and 16th centuries Spain and Portugal pioneered the exploration of the globe and established a large overseas empire but subsequently lost most of these colonies to England, France and the Netherlands who started the exploration of the world later (Abernethy, 2000). With more financial resources and the availability of more time one would have loved to make a comparison between the former French, British, Spanish and Portuguese colonies; and the outcome would have been interesting.

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Appendix

Questions

The following questions were asked and follow - up questions were asked wherever necessary:

Proposition 1: The aim was to relate level of education to industrialisation process

How old are you and what is your highest qualification?

Do you participate actively in trade union activities in this company? (When last did you attend the union meeting? Do you vote during the union elections?) If no, why not?

Proposition 2: The aim was to find out the relationship between industrial democracy and political democracy.

Do you belong to any political party? Are you registered to vote?

When was the last time you voted? If no why did you not vote?

Are you aware that by voting you are deciding who to govern you?

Proposition 3: The aim was to establish a relationship between industrial democracy and productivity.

When was the last strike? How long? And what were the issues involved?

Were you given a 'strike allowance' by the union?

